Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-209
Monday
29 October 1990

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FBIS-SOV-90-209 *29 October 1990*

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Pact Conventional Arms Talks Begin in Prague

LD2610230590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The fourth round of talks within the framework of the Warsaw Pact special commission on conventional arms began in Prague today. Quotas for tanks and artillery weapons within the Warsaw Pact are to be established. Little time has been set aside for the upcoming talks between the deputy foreign ministers due to the Paris meeting of leaders of the CSCE participant countries planned for November.

TASS Commentary on Warsaw Pact's Future

LD2710125190 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT 27 Oct 90

["Future of Warsaw Pact—TASS Comment"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The future of the Warsaw Pact is an issue that has drawn much attention of late. The mass media recently carried statements by Hungarian and Czechoslovak leaders about the two countries' plans with regard to the Pact's military organisation.

The Soviet Union does not regard statements by its allies about the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact military organisation as sensational news.

In 1988, the pact's Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest decided to strengthen the political nature of the bloc, which presupposed the lessening of its military significance.

In June this year, at the committee's conference in Moscow, the Soviet Union agreed with its allies to map out and take concrete steps to curtail the military organisation of the Warsaw Pact.

Soviet Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov said at a recent joint press conference with his U.S. counterpart Dick Cheney: "We arrive at the conclusion that the military organisation of the Warsaw Pact is not needed." This is the gist of the Soviet stand.

Political observers paid attention to a recent report on the postponement of an extraordinary conference of the Political Consultative Committee, originally scheduled for November 3-4.

Moscow thinks it would be more logical to hold the conference after the Paris summit of countries participating in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which is expected to take major political decisions that would also affect the Warsaw Pact.

In addition, all Warsaw Pact members are interested in analysing new proposals concerning the functioning of the Pact, as these are very serious issues that will have consequences for the entire situation in Europe.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing on Friday that a provisional commission of governmental representatives, set up by the decision of the Moscow conference of the Political consultative committee, was working out recommendations for the Pact's transformation.

In the opinion of the Soviet side, work in the commission is proceeding normally. There are differences, but they are removed on the basis of compromise.

Moscow does not see any insurmountable obstacles to the successful completion of the commission's work and the subsequent approval of its results by the Political Consultative Committee.

CEMA Sponsors Economic Development Group

91UF0060A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by A. Sharyy: "Cooperation: The Model Is Changing"]

[Text] It is no secret that economic cooperation among CEMA member countries is in a state of crisis at present. However, the very fact that the economies are woven so closely together raises the need for a search for new models of interaction. This, in particular, also provided the impetus for the creation of the International Association To Assist Economic Development and Cooperation, which arose at the initiative of the collective of CEMA's International Institute on Economic Problems of the World Socialist System. Members of the association are united by the intention to contribute to the formation of a market economy and the development of comprehensive economic ties within the framework of the world community.

"Our goal is to unite prominent economists from many countries who can use their knowledge and experience to create a new model of cooperation," says I. Sergiyenko, general director of the association. "In particular, scholars of the Hungarian Institute of Industrial Economics, the Institute of World Economics in Romania, the Warsaw Institute of Finances, the Swedish Institute of International Relations, and the Institute of International Economic and Political Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences have expressed an interest in participating in our work."

"To begin with, the association is proposing five programs which are supposed to contribute to the resolution of problems in the transition to a market. Among them I would distinguish the training program, which includes a whole series of projects to give an economic education to businessmen, students, and schoolchildren. The association will also be involved in promoting entrepreneurial activities."

The first action of the new organization was an international seminar dedicated to the problems of the transition to the market.

TASS Reports Gremitskikh Foreign Affairs Briefing

Discusses Warsaw Pact Future

LD2610143390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1331 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Leonid Timofeyev from the Foreign Ministry press center]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Oct (TASS)—"We do not view our allies' statements about disbanding the Warsaw Pact's military organization as unexpected sentiments." That was the comment made at today's briefing by Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy head of a directorate at the USSR Foreign Ministry, concerning recent media remarks made by "the leaders of Hungary and, particularly, Czechoslavakia" about their countries' intentions regarding the military organization of the Warsaw Pact.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman reminded journalists that the question of the fate of the Warsaw Pact's military organization is not a new one: At the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in 1988, a decision was made to try to strengthen the political nature of the Warsaw Pact, "which, naturally, presupposed the diminution of its military significance."

Analyzing the future of the military and political situation that is taking shape, Yuriy Gremitskikh continued by saying the Soviet side has concluded that the defense organization of the Warsaw Pact will be necessary as long as the two blocs' military potentials are not in keeping with the principles of reasonable sufficiency, and as long as their armed forces are not deprived of the opportunity to carry out large-scale offensive operations. "We make no secret of this assessment," the representative of the USSR Foreign Ministry said.

That is why, the diplomat continued, at the conference of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow in June of this year, the USSR agreed with its allies to determine and undertake specific steps aimed at scaling down the military organization of the Warsaw Pact. "Our approach," Yuriy Gremitskikh stated, "has been a logical one and marked by continuity." Meanwhile, he also recalled the recent statement made by Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov at a joint news conference with Richard Cheney, where the Soviet minister stated: "We are arriving at the belief that the military organization of the Warsaw Pact is not needed." "This is the essence of our position," Yuriy Gremitskikh said.

Notes Moiseyev Visit to NATO

LD2610231290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1332 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Leonid Timofeyev from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center]

[Text] Moscow, 26 October—During a briefing today, Yuriy Gremitskikh, first deputy chief of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs Information Directorate, briefed journalists on the visit that began yesterday to NATO headquarters by Mikhail Moiseyev, USSR Armed Forces chief of General Staff.

On 24 October, the Soviet diplomat reported, there was a meeting between Mikhail Moiseyev and Joseph Charlier, head of the Belgian Armed Forces General Staff. Meetings are also planned between the USSR Armed Forces chief of General Staff and Manfred Woerner, NATO secretary general, and Vigleik Eide, chairman of the NATO Military Committee, as well as with other members of the leadership of the of the North Atlantic Alliance International Secretariat. Tomorrow, Mikhail Moiseyev will visit the headquarters of NATO Supreme Allied Commander in Europe John Galvin.

Warsaw Treaty Meeting Postponement Viewed

LD2610135690 Moscow TASS in English 1344 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Holding the extraordinary meeting of the Warsaw Treaty political consultative committee after the CSCE summit in Paris "seems very logical", a Soviet spokesman told a briefing here today.

Explaining why the Political Consultative Committee moved its meeting from November 3-4, Yuriy Gremitskikh emphasised that "the CSCE meeting in Paris is expected to produce major political decisions that could affect the Warsaw Treaty in some way or another".

Moreover all WTO [Warsaw Treaty Organization] members are interested in the profound and comprehensive elaboration of new proposals as regards the functioning of the Warsaw Treaty, because "very serious things are at stake that will have consequences for the entire European situation".

Gremitskikh told journalists that recommendations on transforming the Warsaw Treaty are being worked out in a provisional commission of government representatives, set up on the decision of the Political Consultative Committee at the Moscow meeting.

The Soviet side believes, Gremitskikh said, that "work in the commission is proceeding normally, and differences are being resolved through compromise".

"We can't see any insurmountable obstacles for the successful completion of coordinated work within the commission, which will be subsequently approved at the Political Consultative Committee," the spokesman said.

"It is a matter of time now".

Explains Nuclear Test

LD2610142390 Moscow TASS in English 1414 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—The Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests has affected its security, and a decision was taken to conduct a test at the Novaya Zemlya testing ground, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

Commenting on the reasons that prompted the Soviet Union to conduct an underground nuclear test on October 24, Gremitskikh said Soviet testing grounds "remained silent for almost a year". The Soviet Union believed that this would lead to a bilateral moratorium on nuclear tests, that other nuclear powers would join it. But the United States, France and China continued nuclear testing this year.

"Taking the serious decision, the Soviet political leadership weighed hundreds of various factors and circumstances. But the country's security is a factor that cannot be neglected by any political leadership," he said.

"The Soviet Union's principal approach to the nuclear test ban has not changed. The Soviet Union has been a consistent supporter of a full ban on all nuclear tests as soon as possible, and it does not intend to shift its stand," Gremitskikh said.

He noted that the Soviet Union is ready to begin working out a corresponding international agreement with other countries.

Hails Cut in U.S. Angolan Aid

LD2610143890 Moscow TASS in English 1415 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—The Solarz amendment, recently adopted by the U.S. House of Representatives and envisaging the suspension of U.S. military aid to the Angolan UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] rebels for three months, is "a step in the right direction", Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

At the same time he deemed it "too early" to give a detailed evaluation of the initiative because Moscow "does not have exhaustive information on all the details of the decision".

The Soviet side is studying this question. It will apparently become the subject of discussion during the current Soviet-American consultations at experts' level in Rome, Gremitskikh said.

Confirms Gorbachev To Visit Germany

LD2610154690 Moscow TASS in English 1522 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh confirmed at a briefing here today that President Mikhail Gorbachev would visit Germany. However, the date of the visit is not fixed as yet.

Asked about the programme of the visit, Gremitskikh noted that the signing of a bilateral treaty will be the focal event of Gorbachev's visit to Germany. Relations between the Soviet Union and the united Germany will be based on this treaty.

Supports UN Mission to Jerusalem

LD2610185290 Moscow TASS in English 1646 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Leonid Timofeyev]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—The Soviet Union supports the idea of sending a U.N. secretary-general mission to Jerusalem, Soviet Foreign Ministry Spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh told a briefing here today.

The international community has decided to send such a mission to investigate the killings of Palestinians by Israeli soldiers in Jerusalem.

Gremitskikh welcomed the U.N. Security Council's unanimity, reflected in Resolution 673, on demanding that the Israeli Government change its decision and agree to receive the mission. He said he hoped that Israel would heed the appeal of the high international body.

UN Briefed on Primakov Mission

LD2810090890 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 28 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Menkes]

[Text] United Nations October 28 TASS—"I have told the members of the Security Council that Soviet presidential envoy Yevgeniy Primakov arrived in Baghdad," Soviet permanent representative at the United Nations Yuliy Vorontsov told correspondents after the Security Council ended its Saturday meeting.

"We believe that Primakov will have useful and important talks there with President Saddam Husayn and Foreign Minister Tariq al-'Aziz. I have conveyed Primakov's request to the Security Council. He asked not to put to the vote a Security Council draft resolution on the issue," Vorontsov said.

"The request was met with understanding. The reaction was benevolent. All the council members were positive

about the request. The Security Council decided to vote on the issue on Monday. We never lose a hope to restore peace," Vorontsov said.

The gulf crisis continues to cause serious concern in the Soviet Union and the whole international community, Vorontsov told the Security Council. The Soviet Union is sure that Iraq's illegal actions should be stopped immediately.

The draft resoltuion reveals the Security Council's resoluteness to do everything possible in the current tense situation to avoid a military conflict. The Soviet Union is ready to support the draft, Vorontsov said.

If there is a smallest chance for a political settlement, it should be used. The Soviet Union is doing everything in its power to help settle the crisis by political means, Vorontsov said.

He said he was satisfied with the fact that many countries are taking part in the search for ways to a peaceful settlement of the crisis—within the frameworks of the Security Council, the non- aligned movement and Arab states themselves.

"I would like to believe that Iraq realises its responsibility and will take the only right decision—fulfil the Security Council's resolutions and immediately and unconditionally pull out its troops from Kuwait," Vorontsov said.

Iraq continues to carry out cruel actions agaist the Kuwaiti people and foreign citizens and diplomats, Kuwait's permanent representative at the United nations Muhammad Abu al-Hasan said.

The number of murders, tortures, detentions and pillages is constantly growing. Such actions are brutal violations of the U.N. Charter and other international documents, the representative said.

Addressing correspondents after the meeting, Abu al-Hasan expresed gratitude to the Soviet Union for its firm support of the international community's efforts to settle the crisis as soon as possible.

Thc Security Council decided to give the Soviet presidential envoy an opportunity to hold talks in Baghdad and try to find out if the Iraqi leaders were ready to make concessions and agreed to fulfil security council resolutions, he said. Unfortunately, Iraq has not given a positive answers to efforts by many countries to settle the crisis, the Kuwaiti representative said.

Security Council Delays Vote at Soviet Request

LD2810101190 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] At the Soviet Union's request the United Nations Security Council has postponed till Monday the voting on a draft resolution concerning the Iraq-Kuwait crisis.

Speaking at the council in this context, the Soviet delegate at the United Nations Organization Yuliy Vorontsov expressed the hope that the coming exchange of views between the Soviet President's envoy Yevgeniy Primakov, now in Baghdad, and Iraq President Saddam Husayn will be important and useful. The Soviet request had a favorable response in the United Nationsdiplomatic circles.

The Iraqi delegate at the United Nations, Amir al-Anbari, said he believed that Primakov's visit to Baghdad would produce good results.

TASS Interviews Head on UN's Geneva Office

LD2410143490 Moscow TASS in English 1333 GMT 24 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vitaliy Makarchev]

[Text] Geneva October 24 TASS—The principal lesson that the 45-year history of the United Nations has taught us consists in the world community's increasing awareness of the fact that the global issues confronting mankind can only resolved by joint efforts coordinated by the U.N., director-general of the U.N. Geneva Office Jan Martenson told TASS.

In the interview, timed to coincide with the U.N.'s 45th anniversary, Martenson pointed to the fact that the role the United Nations has come to play in international affairs would be impossible without the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States and the support the two countries give to this world organisation.

Martenson said the United Nations was now acquiring the importance its founding fathers envisaged 45 years ago. This is why the Security Council's actions in response to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait deserve to be described as historic, he stressed.

According to Martenson, the United Nations can play a decisive role in solving many pressing problems confronting humanity—from the settlement of regional conflicts to securing comprehensive protection of human rights to ensuring the world's economic, social and cultural development to conserving the environment.

All this shows that the United Nations have now entered an extremely significant stage in its activity.

As regards the U.N. Geneva Office, its activity is connected with the major trends of United Nations' activities—disarmament, refugees, human rights and economic and social development.

Solutions to such major issues as the Afghan conflict and the Iran-Iraq war were first outlined in Geneva during multi-lateral talks under the U.N. aegis. A settlement in Western Sahara is now being prepared here as well.

Geneva, Martenson stressed, is the world's major conference and meeting centre. About 6,000 such conferences and meetings are held here annually.

The U.N. Geneva Office can be described as the U.N.'s economic and social headquarters. A large number of specialized U.N. agencies conduct their vigorous activities from their headquarters in Geneva, Martenson pointed out.

Recent developments in East European countries have strongly affected the entire range of the U.N. activities, Martenson said.

The Geneva office is doing all it can to help East European countries in humanitarian and human rights fields. Two years ago, a new impulse was imparted to relations between the Geneva Office and the Soviet Union, where a number of specific U.N. programmes are now being implemented, Martenson stressed.

Military Writer Questions Need for NATO

LD2610213890 Moscow TASS in English 2008 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Former Belgian prime minister Pierre Harmel, one of NATO's prominent theoreticians, once said that it was easier to supervise the North Atlantic Alliance in the periods of international crisis, than in the time of detente. It can be said that the fear of Soviet tanks that were, allegedly, about to cross La Manche, was the chief pretext for NATO's military activity. The withdrawal of Soviet armies from Eastern Europe beyond the Bug River that has already been started, faced the North Atlantic Alliance with the most serious crisis.

NATO strategists are concerned that the erosion of the "enemy image" may lead to NATO's disintegration. As NATO leaders assert, the Western military alliance was formed to repulse an attack from the East.

Now that the Soviet Union unilaterally cuts its armed forces by half a million, scraps a large number of tanks, planes and guns and recalls its armies from the line of military confrontation, the arguments in support of NATO, that were advanced in 1949, hold no water. Nevertheless, while admitting cardinal changes in the world situation, those who favour the Atlantic Alliance continues to declare that the alliance's "fundmental tasks" remain unchanged.

If NATO's "fundamental tasks" remain the same in conditions when there is no threat of attack, the question arises if the Western military alliance pursued defensive purposes only in 1949, what is the need for the NATO military system if there is no enemy in the East any longer? What purposes does NATO pursue?

There are different tendencies in determing the role of military alliances in maintaining peace and stability in Europe. President of the North Atlantic Assembly Patrick Duffy says that only NATO can ensure European stability and security. FRG Foreign Ministers Hans- Dietrich Genscher believes that NATO should become a forum of new partnership with all European countries and gradually come to represent European collective structures of security. True, Genscher allows for the existence of only the military organisation of Western countries with its military strategy and strategic priorities.

The optimum solution to the problem of European security would be disbandment of NATO and Warsaw Treaty military organisations and a considerable enhancement of the role of the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe and the creation in the framework of this forum of a number of new institutions which could make the dialogue among 35 countries more effective and better organised.

The transfer of the functions of ensuring security in Europe to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would be a reliable guarantee of the priority of political means in solving European problems.

Petrovskiy Discusses UN Role, Expenses

LD2€ '0231790 Moscow TASS in English 1744 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Postanogov]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—"The United Nations is experiencing its revival. The organisation is beginning not only to provide information services but also to tackle specific issues," Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy said here today.

He spoke at a meeting with representatives of Soviet mass organisations, movements and parties.

The United Nations is turning into a mechanism for settling conflict and crisis situations, Petrovskiy continued.

In this context, he named the Iraq-Kuwait crisis a "major sobering element for U.N. activities", which "prompted the need for unity of action in the face of unprovoked acts of aggression".

The organisation has shown that it is capable of action guided by human values and its charter.

"It is coming to be understood inside the United Nations that it is necessary to act unanimously not only from the viewpoint of settling situations but from the viewpoint of quashing acts of aggression, if need be," Petrovskiy noted.

Speaking about the future of the U.N., he said that "it is necessary to turn to preventive diplomacy" and the development of opportunities that would help prevent crisis.

"The United Nations should operate as an early warning system," he added.

Speaking about financing the United Nations, Petrovskiy said that "peace also costs money".

"Reasonable expenses are needed to make U.N. mechanisms operable and create opportunities not only for exchanging information but also for sharing experience," he stressed.

Petrovskiy Receives Council of Europe Official

LD2510191990 Moscow TASS in English 1703 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 25 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy today received Peter Sager, chairman of the Council of Europe parliamentary assembly committee on liaisons with European countries that are not members of the Council of Europe.

The talk focused on the situation in Europe and developing the CSCE process. The sides also discussed various aspects of cooperation between the USSR and the Council of Europe.

United States & Canada

Bogachev Views U.S. Defense Budget Debates

LD2510174790 Moscow TASS in English 1723 GMT 25 Oct 90

[By TASS military writer Vladimir Bogachev]

[Text] Moscow October 25 TASS—Despite unexpected expenditures for the upkeep of U.S. troops in the Gulf, requests by the U.S. Administration for military appropriations will apparently not be met by Congress, and the Pentagon's budget will be lower than $300 billion.

A year ago U.S. Vice President Dan Quayle asserted that the Soviet Union continues to increase its military budget. Prior to congressional debates on the budget, the Pentagon's chief Richard Cheney said that the Soviet Union continues to build up its strategic potential and that the United States should uphold its interests with determination. Cheney was then criticised by the Senate for not considering the easing of tension in U.S.-Soviet relations when he drafted the military budget.

In the autumn of 1990, for the first time in over four decades, debates on the U.S. budget were not punctuated with assertions about "a Soviet military menace." This is evidently an indication of changes that have taken place in the Pentagon.

Cheney, having recently returned from Moscow, stated that the Pentagon got a good deal when the House of Representatives cut the requested military budget by $19 billion. He did not insist on the initial request for military appropriations.

It is still too early to say that the Pentagon has fully adapted to the realities of the nineties. The U.S. Defence Department will apparently be able to ensure that all its major strategic problems are financed.

The U.S. House of Representatives agreed to appropriate funds for the construction of B-2 Stealth bombers, although their number will be limited to 15. The Star Wars programme will continue, although the administration's request for $4.7 billion was slashed to $2.9 billion. These reductions will delay the deployment of armaments for the first stage of the Star Wars programme by two years.

The revised military strategy announced by Washington will apparently have no effect on basic provisions in the U.S. strategy. The Pentagon envisages shifting the arms race to the area of high technologies to ensure its military superiority. This course could create additional difficulties for arms control.

A new era in Soviet-American relations has begun. To tap the opportunities on the road to peace and stability, both superpowers should make equal contributions, including in the military area.

China

Belousev Meets With PRC's Li Peng in Beijing

LD2710162690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1258 GMT 27 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Kirillov]

[Text] Beijing, 27 Oct (TASS)—"I'm glad that agreements worked out together with Nikolay Ryzhkov during my Moscow visit are being implemented," said Premier Li Peng on Saturday during a meeting with a Soviet Government delegation led by Soviet Deputy Prime Minister Igor Belousov.

According to a XINHUA report, the head of the Chinese Government called the talks between Belousov and Liu Huaqing, vice chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, "highly constructive". The present visit by the Soviet delegation, the premier continued, "undoubtedly will strengthen Sino-Soviet economic and technical cooperation, including in the sphere of the defense industry."

Li Peng told of the policy of reforms and external openness carried out in China over the past 12 years. He pointed out that every people should carry out reforms and construction and choose a development path in accordance with the situation in its country.

I.S. Belousov informed the Chinese side of the present situation in the USSR. He stressed the sincere desire of the Soviet Union to develop technical and economic cooperation with China, which had taken off since the normalization of bilateral relations.

Soviet, Chinese Officials Meet, Praise Relations

LD2610194290 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vladimir Oreshin]

[Text] Beijing October 26 TASS—The Soviet people welcome the normalisation and development of Soviet-Chinese relations, Anatoliy Ananyev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Commission on International Affairs, said here today.

He spoke at a meeting with Wan Li, chairman of the Chinese parliament's standing committee.

The Chinese leader noted progress in the development of political, economic and cultural relations between the USSR and China over the past year. The spheres of cooperation between the two countries are constantly expanding, he added.

Contacts between lawmakers, which have been developing since last year, enrich the experience of Soviet and Chinese legislators and promote good-neighbourly relations betwen the two states, Wan stressed.

Ananyev and Wan informed each other about reforms in the Soviet Union and China.

The Soviet delegation arrived in Beijing today at the invitation of Chinese parliamentary commission on international affairs.

Moscow Mayor in Taiwan on Unofficial Visit

OW2810021690 Moscow International Service in Mandarin
1300 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow Mayor Popov made a one-day unofficial visit to Taiwan. Upon his arrival in Taipei, he met and held talks with Taiwan's foreign minister and the Taipei mayor.

Methods for promoting economic cooperation and trade between Taiwan and the Soviet Union were discussed.

Popov was invited by the largest Taiwanese textile company which has economic connections with the Soviet Union.

According to official reports, the trade volume between the Soviet Union and Taiwan for the first three quarters of this year came to $76.6 million.

Manayenkov Interviewed on PRC Visit

LD2610104790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] A group of CPSU Central Committee personnel has spent two weeks in the PRC. It visited Hainan, an island province which is the largest special economic zone in the PRC, and the town of Guangzhou. Correspondent Albert Papayan asked Yuriy Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to give his impressions of the trip:

[Begin Manayenkov recording] One would like to mention, first of all, the friendliness shown to us by the Chinese comrades. Conversations were open and frank; a good deal of attention was devoted to the issues of party formation and economic development. The Chinese comrades were interested very much in the problems of the Soviet Union's transition to a market economy. In this aspect, China has certain experiences. Individual regions have been working in market conditions for about 10 years now. We visited those regions, and there is a great degree of progress there. Technical problems, town-planning problems are being successfully solved there.

People's living standards have improved considerably. Towns of the future are being created—towns full of light, vast and green. They are a joy to the eye. I think that this practice, that of Chinese free enterprise zones and regions, could become very useful for the Soviet Union, too, when a transition to market relations is being examined.

Naturally, we were interested in the issues of party building. In this connection, one would like to say that after meetings of our leaders, after Comrade Gorbachev's meeting with China's state and party figures relations have been normalized, an intensive exchange of both views and delegations is being carried out now to make our party relations match those at state and economic levels. [end recording]

Northeast Asia

Moscow, Tokyo Reach Preliminary Twinning Accord

LD2510213690 Moscow TASS in English 1932 GMT 25 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo October 25 TASS—a preliminary agreement to establish twin cities relations between Moscow and Tokyo was reached during a visit to Japan by Moscow's mayor and deputy mayor, people's deputies Gavriil Popov and Sergey Stankevich. Sergey Stankevich told this to TASS the day before returning to Moscow.

Moscow's and Tokyo's becoming twin cities is an important step which will have far-reaching political and economic consequences, Stankevich said. The two cities will have permanent close contacts and will conduct regular exchanges of cultural, educational and economic nature.

Noting that Japanese capital and technologies are not much used in the Soviet market, the deputy mayor said that an agreement with six Japanese corporations about the supply to Moscow of over $1 million worth of consumer goods was reached during the visit. A contract on the production of glasses in Moscow was achieved. Some 30 contemporary optician's will be opened in the capital under this contract.

As regards the question of "northern territories", Stankevich admitted that territorial issue between the Soviet Union and Japan does exist and emphasised that it is necessary to conduct negotiations to resolve it.

Envoy to Japan Rules Out Unilateral Concession

OW2610131890 Tokyo KYODO in English 1244 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Tokyo, Oct. 26 KYODO—Soviet Ambassador to Japan Lyudvig Chizhov said Friday that it would be "impossible" to resolve the territorial issue between Japan and the Soviet Union "in a single stroke by employing a simplistic scheme."

The envoy, making his first public address since assuming his post in September, appeared to rule out any possibility of four Soviet-held islands claimed by Japan being handed over by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev when he visits Tokyo next April.

"Looking at the negotiations which have been held up to now, one could say it is impossible for this issue to be resolved in a single stroke by employing a simplistic scheme," Chizhov said at a luncheon meeting.

Chizhov, a career diplomat with 16 years' experience in Japan, said a solution acceptable to both sides can only become possible when an atmosphere of trust has been created.

He called for an expansion of economic, political, and cultural exchanges between the two countries, and implementation of confidence-building security measures.

Japan calls for the transfer of the four islands seized by the Soviets at the end of World War II, and insists only then can trust be established between the two traditional rivals.

Chizhov's rejection of a "simplistic" formula to resolve the territorial dispute echoes the view expressed earlier this month in Tokyo by George Kunadze, a prominent Soviet academic and former diplomat, whose thinking on Soviet-Japan relations is said to closely reflect the prevailing view in the Soviet Government.

Kunadze favored the return of two of the four islands and continuing talks on the other two, but said that Moscow will only agree to a formula "which will save face for both sides."

By calling for mutual concessions, observers say Moscow is hinting if Japan drops its demands for an immediate return of Kunashiri and Etorofu, the Soviets will be willing to revive a 1956 joint declaration which provided for the return of the Shikotan Islands and the Habomai group.

First Soviet Oil Tanker Arrives in South Korea

LD2710024590 Moscow World Service in English 2110 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Soviet oil is now being shipped to South Korea. This is for the first time after the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. An official representative of the Yukong Company, which signed a contract with the Soviet Union on purchasing 100,000 barrels of crude oil from Sakhalin, said a Soviet tanker has arrived at one of the biggest South Korean ports of Ulsan.

Commentator Views Prospects for PRC-ROK Ties

SK2810043690 Moscow International Service in Korean 0900 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Station commentary]

[Text] China and South Korea have agreed to exchange trade missions with limited consular functions. Commenting on this, AFP says that by this Beijing and Seoul have taken a step toward normalizing relations. One of our station commentators writes the following about this:

South Korean Foreign Minister Choe Ho-chung stated in New York early this month that Seoul wishes to establish diplomatic relations with China next year. However, as far as I know, Beijing has not yet made any official statement on this issue. If this is the case, it is too early to speculate. However, the rapid progress in the trade and economic relations between China and South Korea leads us to think that the relations between the two countries will not remain limited in this realm.

As shown by international experience, the mutual interest of the two sides concerned in the development of trade often represents a stage leading to a step for political relations. Here I would like to take an example of changes in the relations between Moscow and Seoul.

As you know, our country first entered into economic relations with South Korea two years ago. Since then the trade and economic exchanges between the two countries have continuously expanded. With the continuous development of trade and economic exchanges, it became more apparent with each passing day that the absence of normal bilateral relations was a serious obstacle to complete economic cooperation. This motivated Moscow to adopt the decision to exchange ambassadors with Seoul some time ago.

What will this step give to the economic realm? This step makes it possible to sign an interstate agreement that enables cooperation to be built on a prudent long-term basis and to solve the problem of double taxation.

It is of course true that Moscow, in adopting the decision to establish diplomatic relations with Seoul, had its pure political impact in mind. This decision took into consideration existing reality, which is that there have been two sovereign states, namely, the DPRK and the ROK, on the Korean peninsula for 45 years. Moscow also took into consideration the fact that South Korea has become a weighty political and military factor in Asian affairs.

Moscow acknowledged that normal relations with the ROK will contribute to stabilizing the situation in the Far East including the Korean peninsula and to solidifying peace.

China also sets up its foreign policy based on the existing reality in the world, and the Beijing leadership stressed this on a number of occasions. Also clear is China's aspiration to cooperate in the process of easing military and political tensions in the Far East. I think that we should take these two facts into consideration in assessing the prospects for Beijing-Seoul relations.

Commentary Views Disputes Over Senkaku Islands

OW2610032190 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1000 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Commentary by station commentator Dmitriyev]

[Text] The question on the dominion of the Senkaku Islands, which had been shelved for a long time, abruptly drew the attention of the international community on Sunday, 22 October, following an attempt by a Taiwanese civic group to set up a lighthouse on one of the islands to indicate that the Senkaku Islands belong to Taiwan. However, this attempt was blocked forcibly by a patrol ship of the Japanese Maritime Safety Agency. This

incident, which demonstrates anew that the international situation in the Far East does not warrant relaxation, has brought tensions to relations between Japan and Taiwan. The Japanese Government has expressed its intention to file protests against Taiwan in the near future. By the same token, the Taiwanese prime minister has criticized Japan for expelling Taiwanese citizens and said that Taiwan plans to take effective measures if Japanese ships provoke Taiwanese ships.

Furthermore, in Taiwan and Hong Kong, demonstrations have been staged to oppose the restoration of Japanese militarism. There are abundant fishery resources surrounding the Senkaku Islands, and it is said that the islands have oil fields. In addition to Japan and Taiwan, China also claims its territorial right to the islands, and anti-Japanese feelings may arise in China. This is an unfavorable development for the Japanese Government, which is faced with concerns by Asian nations about Japan's plans to send Self-Defense Forces personnel abroad. This situation created in the wake of disputes over the Senkaku Islands will deepen further the distrust in Japan's policies.

The Taiwanese citizens took the action against the Japanese Government's intent to recognize legally the presence of a lighthouse established by a Japanese rightist group on one of the Senkaku Islands in 1978. The Chinese Foreign Ministry last week called the presence of the lighthouse an infringement on China's territories and sovereignty.

Japan and China agreed to leave the question of the dominion of the Senkaku Islands to the next generation when they concluded the Japan-China Peace Treaty. However, Japan's recent action is seen by China as deviating from the wise agreement which paved the way for the improved relations between Japan and China. A Japanese Foreign Ministry official, while testifying before a Diet session last year, called the Senkaku Islands Japan's inherent territory and negated the presence of the agreement. Thus, Japan's intent has become clear. Under the tense situation surrounding the Senkaku Islands, Chief Cabinet Secretary Sakamoto has been forced to confirm anew that the question should be left to the next generation for its resolution. This may demonstrate that the Japanese Government intends to resolve disputes over the islands. However, aside from how these disputes should be settled, we can conclude that to adjust in a concessional way the differences with Japan over territorial issues requires a great deal of cautiousness and is not easy.

Near East & South Asia

Primakov Continues Middle East Visit

Meets With Mubarak 26 Oct

LD2610184190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1733 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo, 26 Oct (TASS)—Egypt's President Husni Mubarak today received Ye. M. Primakov, special representative of the USSR president and member of the Presidential Council.

The purpose of the Soviet representative's mission is to consult with the leaders of a number of states on the problem of settling the conflict in the Persian Gulf zone.

At the end of the meeting, Ye. M. Primakov stated that the position of the USSR regarding the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is based upon the need for the return to the situation that existed in the Persian Gulf region before 2 August. No one should receive any kind of "award" for what has been done, he said.

In his words, it was from just such a position that the Soviet Union voted for the corresponding UN Security Council resolutions and is doing everything that depends upon it to fulfill these resolutions. It is necessary to exhaust every possibility before resorting to military methods and to a military strike. It is namely to this task that the given mission, undertaken on the instructions of the Soviet president, is dedicated.

Ye. M. Primakov called the exchange of opinions in the course of the meeting with President Mubarak extremely important. He pointed out that the head of the Egyptian Government is striving to restore justice in the Persian Gulf region and, moreover, desires to avoid the military course in resolving the problem. Our views coincide completely on these important positions, he added.

Tomorrow, the USSR president's special envoy will fly from Cairo to Baghdad.

Comments on Gulf Crisis

LD2610220490 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The trip by Comrade Primakov, the personal representative of the USSR president, to the countries of the Near East is continuing. Today he again arrived in Cairo where he was received by Husni Mubarak, the Egyptian president. The mission of the Soviet representative is to hold consultations with the leaders of a number of countries, including some in the Near East region, in connection with the continuing crisis in the Persian Gulf area.

[Begin Primakov recording] Everyone here is receiving with great satisfaction the initiative of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, who is sending his representative here for an exchange of opinions to achieve an aim, to achieve an aim. Undoubtedly, this needs to be done. It is necessary that Iraqi forces leave Kuwait. But at the same time one should attempt to exploit all opportunities to prevent a military denouement to this conflict, with its unforeseeable consequences. Then we should also remember—and we do remember this, the president is concerning himself with this—that we have a large Soviet colony in Iraq whose safety must be ensured. [end recording]

Arrives in Baghdad 27 Oct

LD2810074690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0716 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 28 Oct (TASS)—Yevgeniy Primakov, USSR Presidential Council member and special representative of M.S. Gorbachev, arrived on Saturday evening in Baghdad.

In an interview with INA he stated that the present visit is taking place within the framework of consultations and exchanges of opinion with the Iraqi leadership on issues in the Persian Gulf. The Soviet Union, the USSR president's special representative stressed, favors settling the conflict in this area by peaceful means.

The USSR president's special representative was met by Tariq 'Aziz, deputy prime minister and foreign minister.

Relays Gorbachev Message to Saddam

LD2810153490 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1513 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Nicosia, 28 Oct (TASS)—As reported by the Iraqi News Agency, INA, Yevgeniy M. Primakov, member of the Presidential Council and special representative of the USSR president, was today received by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn.

Primakov presented to the Iraqi leader a written [as received] message from USSR President Mikhail S. Gorbachev concerning the situation in the Persian Gulf region and bilateral relations. During the talks which were held, INA indicates, apart from the crisis in the Persian Gulf, the results of the trip recently made by Primakov to a number of Western countries with the aim of seeking paths for a peaceful settlement of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict were considered.

Meets With Saddam, Tariq 'Aziz

LD2810183590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1745 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Baghdad, 28 Oct (TASS)—Yevgeniy M. Primakov, special representative of the USSR president and Presidential Council member met Saddam Husayn, president of Iraq, today in the Iraqi capital.

Taking into consideration the meetings between Yevgeniy M. Primakov and U.S. leaders, as well as with the leaders of several Western European and Arab countries, the conversation examined in detail various aspects of the explosive situation surrounding the Persian Gulf Crisis. As is well known, the international community demands a return to the situation which existed in Kuwait before 2 August, and the complete restoration of its sovereignty. In these conditions, the Soviet Union considers that all available political opportunities for emerging from the crisis must be used.

There was also discussion of issues connected with the presence of Soviet citizens in Iraq. An accord was reached that all specialists from the USSR who have declared that they wish to return home will be given the opportunity to do so.

Yevgeniy M. Primakov had a meeting with Tariq 'Aziz, Iraq's deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs.

Talks End 29 Oct

LD2910084890 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] A special representative of the USSR President, Yevgeniy Primakov, has concluded his talks with Iraq's President Saddam Husayn. In their report from Baghdad, news agencies said there are no indications so far in favor of a settlement of the Iraq-Kuwait conflict. Yevgeniy Primakov handed to Saddam Husayn a message from Mikhail Gorbachev, stressing the desire of the Soviet Union to solve the crisis in the Persian Gulf peacefully. The Soviet representative is to arrive in Saudi Arabia today.

Speaking in Barcelona earlier, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said he does not believe that the Primakov mission to Baghdad is the last hope, and he added that so far it is difficult to say what the concrete ways for a political settlement might be.

Meanwhile, the Iraq president has reportedly lifted petrol rationing and resigned Oil Minister Isam al-Rahim. The causes of the resignation have not been spelled out.

Meets With 'Arafat, Leaves Baghdad

LD2910130690 Moscow TASS in English 1224 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo October 29 TASS—Yevgeniy Primakov, the Soviet president's special envoy and member of the Presidential Council, left Iraq for Saudi Arabia today.

Before departure from Baghdad he met Palestine Liberation Organisation chief Yasir 'Arafat. They exchanged views on the Palestinian leader's proposal to look for "comprehensive" solutions to the problems of the region, primarily to the Palestinian problem, the MENA news agency reported.

Arrives in Jeddah 29 Oct

LD2910175190 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Cairo October 29 TASS—Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Saud al-Faysal met special Soviet presidential envoy Yevgeniy Primakov in Jeddah today.

According to the MENA news agency, the two officials discussed the development of the Gulf crisis.

Earlier, Primakov who has been touring a number of countries to discuss the Gulf crisis. [sentence as received] He has been to Baghdad where he was received by

President Saddam Husayn and met Palestine Liberation Organisation Chairman Yasir 'Arafat.

IZVESTIYA Views Primakov Tour, Iraqi Aims

PM2610132190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "How Real Are Baghdad's Concessions?"]

[Text] Within the framework of his mission to settle the crisis in the Persian Gulf, Ye. Primakov, member of the USSR Presidential Council and M.S. Gorbachev's special representative, has arrived in Cairo. Answering questions from IZVESTIYA special correspondents D. Velikiy and B. Ivanov, he stated that he "awaits with pleasure meetings with the Egyptian leadership, in whom he sees not only outstanding politicians but also personal friends. An exchange of opinions with them will undoubtedly be useful," Ye. Primakov pointed out.

Before arriving in Cairo he also had talks and consultations in Baghdad, Amman, West Europe, and the United States. After his present visit to Cairo he will visit a number of capitals of other Arab states, including Baghdad.

In a report from Cairo REUTER stresses Ye. Primakov's words to the effect that military confrontation in the Persian Gulf could lead to catastrophe and it is therefore essential to seek a peaceful solution to the conflict.

Meanwhile news agencies report from Washington that on Wednesday here the U.S. defense secretary discussed the Persian Gulf situation with U.S. Congressmen and stated that he still sees no evidence of Saddam Husayn's desire to withdraw Iraqi troops from Kuwait. From time to time, he pointed out, the Iraqi president makes statements which seem to confirm his readiness to take this step, but if you check the statements he has issued against Baghdad's real military preparation, you do not believe him very much.

Citing an item in THE NEW YORK TIMES, UPI writes of the possible dispatch of additional U.S. troops to the conflict zone. The same agency notes the continuing discussion of the question of sending Japanese military contingents to Saudi Arabia and Egypt's proposal to step up its military presence in the conflict region.

In a new report on the internal situation in Iraq, Paul Kholms [surname as transliterated], REUTER correspondent in Baghdad, notes that the first signs are beginning to appear in the country of mass dissatisfaction with the situation which has taken shape on the food and fuel market in connection with the economic sanctions undertaken by the United Nations against Baghdad.

A lot is being written now about how Iraq has begun to make substantial concessions in releasing foreign hostages. But, commenting on Baghdad's policy on this issue, foreign politicians believe that Baghdad is playing a game aimed at splitting the alliance of its opponents.

Primakov's 'Shuttle Diplomacy' Viewed

NC2710092590 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton from "The World Today" feature]

[Text] Dear listeners: The Soviet president has again sent his special emissary, Yevgeniy Primakov, to the Near and Middle East. His itinerary includes another meeting with Saddam Husayn. Earlier this month, Primakov visited Iraq and then proceeded to various Western capitals, including Washington. Will Moscow's shuttle diplomacy succeed in finding an amicable solution in the Persian Gulf?

The content of the talks between Primakov and the Arab and Western leaders seem to be shrouded in a strange secrecy. The reason for this is obvious. The issue under discussion is extremely sensitive. Primakov himself claims that his visits have yielded some positive results.

Speaking in Cairo, Primakov said: We should be optimistic. War in the Persian Gulf would be catastrophic. We have not yet availed ourselves of all the options to resolve the conflict peacefully.

It is evident that Moscow is seeking to pave the way for a political solution that would be acceptable to all. In my opinion, this will be difficult to achieve. The decisions of the UN Security Council and the USSR-U.S. high-level agreement reached in Helsinki demand that Iraq withdraw its forces unconditionally from Kuwait. Baghdad should not be permitted to benefit from this aggression, as this would create a dangerous precedent.

When the leaders of Iraq sought to influence public opinion by trying to indirectly link a partial resolution of the crisis and a readiness to enter into talks with a need to resolve other regional issues, the response of all, apart from some Arab countries and the Palestinians, was the same: There will be no compromise on the condemnation of Iraq's action. The linking of this issue with any other problem is impossible.

When Baghdad decided to weaken the anti-Iraqi front by a piecemeal release of hostages and Baker described this measure as a trade in hostages, a similar no compromise reply was given to Iraq. Baghdad's diplomacy of intimidation and terrorism has not yielded its desired results. Iraq's threat to use foreign experts as a human shield in the event of a military conflict and to utilize chemical and biological weapons only served to further harden the stand against Iraq. For example, the members of the U.S. Senate are insistent that no arms of any kind are to be given to Baghdad even after the Iraqi forces have left Kuwait, and all possible measures should be taken so that Iraq never again resorts to such adventurism.

In any case, the issue of dispatching more forces to the Persian Gulf is being studied by the Pentagon. While reporting on this, THE NEW YORK TIMES commented that the dispatch of reinforcements to Saudi

Arabia could be an indication of a preparation for military operations. Thus it is clear that despite the efforts of the Soviet Union and other countries, the headlong plunge toward the precipice of war continues.

In my view, the only way to prevent war is to step up the UN sanctions against Iraq, so that in the near future Baghdad will be motivated to leave Kuwait without any preconditions.

Foreign Economic Minister Visits Saudi Arabia

Meets Saudi Minister 26 Oct

LD2710083690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0720 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Jiddah, 27 Oct (TASS)—The Soviet Government delegation led by K.F. Katushev, USSR Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, met with Saudi Foreign Minister Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal on Friday.

There was an exchange of views regarding forms and spheres of cooperation in light of the restoration of diplomatic ties between both countries, and regarding measures which are designed to assist its expansion. The fundamental guidelines for further actions in the interests of the development of mutually advantageous trade and economic ties were set out.

Meets With King Fahd in Jeddah

LD2810041190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1839 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Yefremov]

[Text] Cairo, 27 Oct (TASS)—Fahd Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud, king of Saudi Arabia, received Konstantin Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations in Jeddah today, MENA reports.

Prospects for relations between the two countries and 'issues of mutual interest' were discussed during the meeting in the "Al-Salaam" royal palace.

The Soviet minister, who arrived in Saudi Arabia at the invitation of the Saudi minister of commerce to discuss issues on the development of trade and economic ties between the two countries, was previously received by Prince Sa'ud al-Faysal Bin 'Abd-al-'Aziz Al Sa'ud, minister of foreign affairs.

Economic Agreement Reached

LD2810161190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1228 GMT 28 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Jeddah, 28 October (TASS)—During the visit to Saudi Arabia of a Soviet Government delegation, agreement hs been reached on the creation of a contractual and legal basis for developing trade and economic links between the USSR and Saudi Arabia. It is possible that this will take the form of an intergovernmental agreement. Konstantin Katushev, head of the Soviet delegation and USSR minister of foreign economic relations, who is here on a visit, said this to the TASS correspondent. The sides will create conditions of most favored nation status for each other, he said.

A Soviet trade representation will be accredited to Saudi Arabia, as to other countries, the minister said, with the aim of supporting regular bilateral contacts in the economic sphere and conducting a permanent dialogue at the level of the governments and business people of the two countries.

The USSR, continued the head of the Soviet Government delegation, is prepared to provide economic and technical assistance to the Saudi said to build facilities in which the latter has an interest and to offer a wide field for for the activities of Saudi business circles in the Soviet Union, in, for example, tourism and the construction of hotels, the creation of petrochemical, light and food industry enterprises, machine-building, and providing for the conversion of facilities in the defense sector. Saudi investments in the USSR will be given the necessary guarantees, both on the basis of laws which already exist and within the framework of bilateral agreements.

The crisis in the Persian Gulf area, caused by the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait, has had a most negative affect on the economy of the USSR, which has sustained direct and indirect losses of about $10 billion, said Katushev. He noted that the Soviet Union is an active participant and proposer in a whole series of measures aimed at normalizing the situation in the region, and he expressed the hope that this stance corresponds to the interests of the Arabian Peninsula and will facilitate the development of good relations between the USSR and Saudi Arabia and other countries of the region.

West Europe

Reports Detail Gorbachev's Visit to Spain

Arrives in Madrid 26 Oct

LD2610134190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by special correspondent Pavel Kasparov]

[Summary] "Literally five minutes ago, President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's plane landed at Madrid's Barajas airport."

Diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Spanish Republic were first established in 1933. In 1939 they were severed and they were restored only 38 years later. In 1986 Felipe Gonzalez paid a visit to the USSR for the first time. Later there was a visit by Juan Carlos I. And now for the first time in Spain's history, a Soviet leader of this rank is visiting that country.

M.S. Gorbachev has now gone down the stairs onto the tarmac and shakes hands with Felipe Gonzalez, who, together with Spanish Foreign Minister Ordonez has come to meet the high Soviet guest. At the stairs of the aircraft an honor guard has been lined up. In the VIP lounge of the airport the state flags have been hoisted.

This visit is by no means a tourist visit. There is a very large part of it is given over to business. And in about two hours from now negotiations between Gonzalez and Gorbachev will start at the residence of the Spanish Council of Ministers in Moncloa. At the same time negotiations will start between Shevardnadze and Ordonez.

Tomorrow these negotiations will be expanded, that is to say both groups will gather together in order to conduct a detailed discussion of the documents.

Now Gorbachev and Gonzalez are shaking hands for the photographers at the airport.

From the airport Gorbachev, accompanied by Gonzalez will set off to the official Pardo residence, a castle located 56 km south-west of Madrid. This residence is just next to the Royal Palace and not far from Moncloa, where the main negotiations will take place.

Apart from the conversations and meetings with Gonzalez, Gorbachev will visit the Madrid area. In the evening he will visit the Spanish parliament and meet with Spanish MP's.

Receives 'Prince of Asturias' Prize

LD2810204290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1442 GMT 28 Oct 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In Spain there is one prize of national importance which is undoubtedly the most prestigious, and that is the Prince of Asturias Prize, named after the heir to the Spainish throne. Last year it was awarded unanimously to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev for his contribution to strengthening international cooperation. We are proud of having been a year ahead of the Nobel Peace Prize, and are glad to be able to take advantage of your visit to Spain to present you with it today: This is the general opinion of the Asturian delegation, which includes prominent Spanish scholars and representatives of the Asturian Government Council.

Accepting the prize, Mikhail Sergeyevich said:

[Begin Gorbachev recording] You can rest assured that the recipient of your prize will continue to stick firmly to the path that has been marked out. Our people have a huge reserve of fellow feeling for Spain, which might at first glance appear somewhat incomprehensible. But when you try to understand the reasons and to compare the histories of our two states, then it transpires that there are very many coincidences. Literally a symmetry. I spoke about this when I was being awarded my honorary doctorates from the complutense and autonomous universities. We are satisfied at the way our relations are developing now. After all, in the course of this visit we have signed 16 documents. That is something of a record! Of course, the signing of documents is not the be all and end all, but nevertheless, it does attest to the fact that relations between us are moving up to another level.

I am interested in what is going on in Spain, with the emergence after 1975 and the return to democracy [words indistinct], and finally the modernization of its economy—a great many specific and significant victories. Thank you all for coming. I am very happy to meet you. Thank you. [end recording]

Holds Talks With Gonzalez

PM2810134690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report under the general heading "USSR-Spain: Moving Toward Each Other"]

[Text] The most politically significant event of the first day of the USSR president's visit to Spain was his meeting with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez. Not so much talks, more an impassioned dialogue took place between two statesmen who have assumed enormous responsibility for their countries' fate and for their new role in international development at the beginning of a new era.

Profound mutual understanding and confidence in each other, similarity of temperament, and a keen sense of reality enabled them to talk openly and frankly about the essence of the problems. In view of the fact that a European Community session opens in Rome 27 October, they discussed thoroughly the question of the West European states' attitude toward perestroyka in the USSR in its most acute phase of development. How fruitful the understanding of the international significance of perestroyka proves to be in practice will determine whether it is possible to consolidate and render permanent those impressive changes for the better that have developed in Europe and over the greater part of the world in recent years. A central element in these changes is what will happen to the Soviet Union. This is primarily the affair and the responsibility of Soviet people. But even abroad nobody should be an impassive observer waiting to see how the transformations turn out in that huge country, which holds such a place in world politics, M.S. Gorbachev noted.

F. Gonzalez vigorously supported this idea: What is happening in the Soviet Union now is the main event of the century, including 1917. For all the significance of the Russian Revolution, what happened then was the beginning of a split in the world. The current revolution leads to the unification of the world and the development of its integration anew.

F. Gonzalez posed the question bluntly: What is needed in order to ensure that the urgency of supporting the Soviet Union, especially at the present stage, is fully recognized? And he received a frank and specific answer. M.S. Gorbachev gave a detailed analysis of the situation in his country. He explained what it urgently needs: Import credits for sectors working directly for the consumer market; credits for modernization, especially in the light and food industry; and nonspecific credits to cover the debt which has developed. This will make it possible to get past the payments peak which falls in 1991. It will facilitate the fulfillment of very difficult decisions connected with the start of the transition to a market economy. We need support today, not just sometime. M.S. Gorbachev briefed F. Gonzalez on the immediate plans for creating normal conditions, generally accepted in the world, for mutually advantageous cooperation with foreign investors and firms.

F. Gonzalez attributed his confidence that the USSR will meet the unprecedented historical challenge to his own country's experience. There was an extremely interesting and instructive analysis of the path traveled by Spain in the post-Franco period. There was a time, he said, when foreign capital lost all faith in the possibility of Spain's economic revival. Not only did they stop investing, they started taking out what they had invested previously. Democracy, they said, is all very well for you in Spain, but reliable conditions are an entirely different matter. And it was only when the light appeared at the end of the tunnel and Spain began to join the ranks of modern developed states that the foreign investors poured back.

The interlocutors' views virtually coincided on the ultimate purpose of the transformations for which people committed to the socialist idea assume responsibility. The most fundamental problem here is the relationship between ends and means. Confusion on this point, as the historical experience of many countries and movements has shown, is fraught with grave consequences. The market and property relationships are instruments honed by world practice. They must without fail be used to achieve lofty human goals: freedom and social prosperity, including guarantees of public health care, education, and pension provision. The market in itself is not the same thing as democracy. And democracy is not synonymous with a market economy. History knows many examples of an efficient economy in the conditions of dictatorship and suppression of all rights. Economic freedom is not equivalent to political and social freedom. An understanding of this fact is what distinguishes the socialist approach to politics.

There was a keen discussion of the question of the Soviet Union's future as an integral unit in European and world politics. F. Gonzalez regards the prospect of the Soviet Union's disintegration as unthinkable. It would jeopardize the European process and all the beneficial changes in the world. The world community would be robbed of the opportunity to act effectively and—at the very time when prospects are opening up for radically new forms of general progress—to deal with problems that are already giving danger signs.

Drawing on historical experience and taking into account the differences and contradictions in opinions and the debates that are in progress, the processes of decentralization of power in the context of the preservation of the domestic and international potential of historically established states were discussed in detail.

The second meeting between M.S. Gorbachev and F. Gonzalez will be devoted to the Persian Gulf Crisis, the Mediterranean, and topical aspects of the European process.

The meeting was continued on 27 October with the participation of foreign ministers. Problems of the Mediterranean and certain other aspects of the international situation were touched on. But the main attention was devoted to the crisis in the Persian Gulf.

The sides' positions on this problem were set forth by M.S. Gorbachev and F. Gonzalez in a joint news conference held at the end of the talks.

Receives Keys to Madrid

LD2610182790 Moscow TASS in English 1809 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Madrid October 26 TASS—The facade of the old palace built in the 17th century, which houses the Madrid Municipal Council, is decked with Soviet and Spanish national flags. It was visited today by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev, now on an official visit in Spain, and Raisa Gorbachev.

A guard of honour lined up on the square in front of the palace. A band played. Gorbachev and Augustin Rodriguez Sahagun, mayor of Madrid, reviewed the guard of honour.

At the hall of the municipal council, the mayor of Madrid made a speech, which was followed by a ceremony presenting the keys to the city. Gorbachev made a speech in reply.

Addresses Madrid Municipal Council

LD2610204990 Moscow TASS in English 2035 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Madrid October 26 TASS—Follows the speech Mikhail Gorbachev delivered at the Madrid Municipal Council:

Esteemed Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen,

Allow me to express to you and all the residents of Madrid my cordial gratitude and the gratitude of all who are in Madrid for the visit at the invitation of King Juan Carlos I of Spain.

Permit me to thank you for a hospitable reception and sincere friendliness of which we became aware from the very first hours of the stay on the wonderful Spanish land.

Madrid is a truly unique creation of mind and skill, having the mark of many centuries. One feels this acutely, staying here. I hope that we shall have an opportunity to take an attentive look around.

These are our first impressions, and we shall enjoy this wonderful opportunity.

We are glad that Moscow and Madrid are twin cities, and that their ties have been filled with new contents every year. This closeness between our capitals naturally means very much to relations between our countries and peoples.

Your city is among those where the European process, started in Helsinki, developed. The 1980-83 meeting in Madrid showed the merits of Spanish diplomacy. This helped at that difficult time to preserve for Europe this important and very promising process of changes.

The monuments of two men of genius—to Pushkin in Madrid and to Cervantes in Moscow—embody the role of the two capitals in world culture and our peoples' view of each other. The state of law on Moscow as capital will soon be adopted. I think it will give a new impetus to the development of creative ties with the Spanish capital.

This will help interaction of municipal bodies, exchange of experience in resolving problems of megapolises, upgrading and deepening commercial and, particularly, cultural ties which all Soviet citizens warmly welcome.

I regard the keys to Madrid with which I have just been presented by you, Mr. Mayor, as a sign of trust and solidarity of the residents of Madrid with Soviet people. Let the doors to our cities always be wide open to friends and partners.

I wish success to the Madrid Municipal Council, its leaders and officials and I wish well-being and happiness to residents of Madrid. Thank you.

Addresses Spanish Parliament

PM2910122590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct Second Edition 90 p 2

[Address by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on 26 October to a joint session of the Congress of People's Deputies and Senate in Madrid; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Mr. President [of the Congress of Deputies], respected members of parliament, ladies and gentlemen:

I am grateful for the invitation to speak to representatives of the Spanish people from this lofty national platform. Spain holds a special place in the Soviet people's perception of the world around them. A feeling of liking and a sense of solidarity with this proud and talented people, interest in the special aspect of your country, its countryside, and its very ancient and original culture have assumed the nature of something constant and inherited for many of our peoples. I cannot help feeling that this first visit to Spain in history by a Soviet head of state is the repayment of an old debt to both our great peoples, which at one time were so unjustly separated.

More than 10 years have passed since we again began moving toward one another. But the distinctive feature of this meeting is that it carries the stamp of vast democratic changes in Europe and throughout the world. Forty-five years after 1945, World War II has finally come to an end in Europe. Millions of Europeans have discovered that the line which separated East from West is swiftly disappearing. The face of Europe is changing. Europeans, who in half a century became used to an unnatural divide, are discovering for themselves anew their common historical and cultural homeland.

Today is a convenient occasion to speak about Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals. The unprecedented changes place new questions before all of us. Where is Europe going? To what extent may this movement be regulated? How can retreats and disruption of the road toward a still unknown future be avoided? How can the dangerous contradictions which may arise be eliminated? How can a balance of interests under the conditions of full freedom of choice be achieved? These questions are, in essence, on the working agenda both for European politicians and for the European public. But one thing is already completely clear: The changes have set free the natural processes of movement and the joint development of the European peoples. And their significance exceeds not only the boundaries of Europe but also the framework of the 20th century.

The unification of Germany is perhaps the most significant symbol of the reality and the irreversible dawning of a new epoch in international development. But it is also a strict test of the new nature of world politics and the change in its criteria. We did not easily reach the peaceful and worthy resolution of the "German question" to the advantage of the German nation: The tragedy of the last war was too great. The Soviet Union, which suffered the largest number of casualties, also bore the main responsibility for the positive resolution of external aspects of German unity. I think that I have grounds for saying that the unification of Germany would hardly have happened—and all the more so over such a short period of time and with international accord—if there had not been Soviet perestroyka.

Europe, in moving toward the future, has no right to forget its past. "History," as the great Cervantes wrote, "is not only the treasure-house of our deeds and a witness of the past, but is also an example and a lesson for the present, as well as a warning for the future." This thought is especially appropriate today when newspapers are simultaneously carrying optimistic reports about the

end of the "cold war," and are foretelling a new "Balkanization" for the continent. They write about a return to the old discords, the roots of which were merely frozen by the cold war, but which did not in any way die and are again ready to produce offshoots.

They talk about the temptations of setting up different spheres of economic and then political influence, following the dismantling of the bloc system. None of this can be allowed. It has taken several centuries for Europe to be able to approach, as a real cause, the formation of an interethnic and interstate community, based on common human values and consideration for the specific interests of each. I think Europeans have amassed sufficient wisdom, have learned the correct lessons from their past, and are capable of building Europe anew.

The present transitional period is especially crucial at a time when the old equilibrium and its mechanisms are weakening, while the new ones essential for maintaining stability and interdependence are still only under discussion, and at the international legal level are still only in the pipeline. It is obvious that the necessary clarity will be brought to this matter at the upcoming Paris summit meeting, which will set the clocks on all-European time. I see the future Europe as a single political, legal, economic, and cultural arena, as a union of states with common structures maintaining military and environmental security, and ensuring a high level of varied interaction.

It is for Spain and the Soviet Union to play a great—I would say indespensable—role in the construction of the new Europe. And I am singling out Spain not simply as a guest's tribute of respect for a cordial host. Having taken up a firm place in the integrational structure of the European Community, Spain has, at the same time, been distinctly cautious about its involvement in the military-political system engendered by the outgoing era of confrontation. Spanish statesmen and parliamentarians saw perhaps earlier than some others the breaking dawn of a new era of collective security and cooperation in Europe.

We evaluate all of this on its merits and we are counting on Spain making a weighty contribution to the all-European process in its new stage. Naturally, the question arises anew of the Soviet Union's role in this process, as in world development as a whole. The policy of new thinking is unshakeable where its principles and moral foundations are concerned. But this policy will be advanced by a state which is substantially different, one which might even go under a new name. The foundations for its structure will be laid down in the very near future, and its economic basis was agreed in principle literally just before I left to come here.

I recognize that the tumultuous disagreements, contradictions, and clashes of position that have occurred in our country because of this have aroused serious alarm in political and public circles abroad. That is natural, given that it concerns a state of such proportions and with such a history. However, it is a sign of the times that, whereas formerly the West either secretly or blatantly wished to weaken the USSR, it now openly declares its wish, in the interests of the whole world, for it to be strong, and in a new way whole, prosperous, and authoritative. This is also natural, for it now concerns a democratic and free state, a voluntary union made up of sovereign national-state entities. In such a position we see a convincing manifestation of recognition for the growing integrity and interdependence of the world community, and from a moral standpoint solidarity with the truly progressive, perestroyka-oriented forces of our society. And we rate this solidarity very highly, and would like some of the hotheads in our country to pause and seriously ponder this phenomenon of the new age.

Consolidation is no easy matter for any society, especially for one which over a relatively short span of history has lived through simply catastrophic upheavals. This is something that is well understood in Spain. And there is much that is instructive in the way your country is overcoming the confrontations and antagonisms born out of splitting the nation in the 1930's. You have found within yourselves the strength to eradicate the seeds of irreconcilable hatred, to turn that tragic page in your history, and to advance resolutely along the road of radical transformations. Authoritarian structures were dismantled in a short time and this was achieved without blood being spilled along the way. A regulated, smooth transition to a democratic form of government and public life has been accomplished. The peoples of Spain opted for state integrity, national accord, and civil peace, and this played no small part in enabling the country to secure political stability and an impressive upsurge in its economy.

The problem of consolidating civil peace is today confronting our immense country in all its starkness. We are living through an unprecedented period of emancipation of society. Profound internal transformations are occurring in our multinational country. The unitary state is being transformed into one which is wholly new and, I believe, unknown in history. The previous structures are crumbling. Links which had become customary are being torn asunder. Models of authority and government which had become ossifed over decades are passing away. In a word, everything that kept society stable, but at the same time led it into a dead end, is now disintegrating. Many see this as the onset of chaos, as an irremediable disaster. But in reality this is the birth of a mighty new organism, one in which birth pangs are inevitable.

At this moment all those who are involved in one way or another in politics are required to be especially attentive and cautious. However, politicians do not immediately master the skill to make proper use of new powers and to use them for the benefit of their peoples—and this is understandable. It takes more than one hour to realize that responsibility goes hand in hand with freedom. Otherwise, instead of being a mighty source of renewal and self- development, freedom can become an instrument for anarchy and destruction. I know that the West

has mixed feelings about the processes taking place in some of our republics and their relations with the center. I would like to use this rostrum to appeal for special caution in making analyses, and to call for circumspection when making assessments. Anyone who bases his approach on the realization that a transitional period is underway in the USSR will be doing the right thing. I am absolutely sure that we will overcome the difficulties. Euphoria and extremism are already losing their appeal in political circles and among the public. This has been a steady trend over recent weeks. Common sense and responsibility are gaining strength. It is being realized that the situation can be stabilized and that uninterrupted progress can continue only if there is consolidation by all those who are genuinely concerned with the people's interests. In these circumstances we are counting on the understanding and support of the world, including Spain. After all, it is no coincidence that I am with you during the most crucial days of our difficult transition; days which even our country has known few of during the last 1,000 years.

In a short period of time the prospects for our bilateral relations have become good. The diverse contacts beween us have become as direct and sincere as they were in the past. Evidence of this was the unselfish assistance given by the Spanish people after the earthquake in Armenia and the hospitality and sincere care you gave to Soviet children who suffered as a result of the Chernobyl catastrophe.

For our part, we intend to act with the greatest responsibility, especially now that the world, which has been released from the "cold war" between East and West, is tackling an extremely acute crisis of a different kind. The new global policy is now undergoing a serious test. The crisis in the Persian Gulf, a region which has inseparble ties with Europe, must be overcome in accordance with the rules of the new international order. The person who thought he could provoke a resumption of East-West confrontation by inflicting a blow on such a vitally important concentration of global ties has made a tragic mistake.

Through the United Nations the international community has demonstrated with its response that no kind of aggression will be tolerated from now on. We are in favor of all chances of a political solution being used, but let nobody interpret the quest for such a solution, undertaken on a joint or bilateral basis, as a sign of weakness or of wavering in implementing the resolution of the UN Security Council. I cannot fail to repeat in this connection that an especially important role in the movement toward a new universal world order is played by the new nature of Soviet-American relations, the partnership and trust which are now their hallmark.

In connection with events in the Near and Middle East, it is again fitting to emphasize Europe's destiny in the world process as the turn of the century approaches. This idea is an integral part of our concept of the common European home. It is especially fitting to recall this here in Spain, which looks out across the Mediterranean to two neighboring continents, and which has historical blood links to Latin America. The new era in East-West relations cannot come about unless we remember that it is indivisible from a problem of such common human dimensions as that of north and south.

We look today to the future with trust and hope. But we also realize that it is very difficult to put aside the past. It is capable of forcing its way into our path which we are jointly laying. There is much work ahead.

In conclusion, allow me to express the wish that we might all enjoy success in this imposing joint cause. I will like to hope that we, Soviet people, Spaniards, and all Europeans, will not throw away the chance. The fate of Europe—and therefore of the whole world—is determined by specific actions, for it is these which leave tangible traces in the future. And so that our children might look calmly and confidently toward tomorrow with good memories of their parents, let us act with courage and circumspection, keeping in mind tomorrow and indeed the day after. Thank you.

King Carlos Hosts Dinner

LD2710094290 Moscow TASS in English 0854 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Madrid October 27 TASS—Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Spain, the first by a Soviet president to this country, is in line with the profound development of Spanish-Soviet relations, which are becoming closer and closer, Spanish King Juan Carlos I said on Friday at a dinner given for the Soviet president.

"We support the Soviet Union's efforts to strengthen the basic role of the United Nations and other world organisations, as well as all forums of dialogue and cooperation, which are the solid foundation of the future of our continent," the king said.

"The successful process of the conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe is an important component of this future. November's Paris summit of the conference should become a decisive step in the consolidation of peaceful Europe.

"Spain wants the Mediterranean to be linked with processes of stability, cooperation and social and economic development that now prevail. We have proposed creating frameworks for dialogue and cooperation in the Mediterranean to promote peace, progress and freedom in this region.

"Now when a new international order is coming into being, the developments in the Persian Gulf are a cause of concern. This is why we should support U.N. efforts to resolve this conflict.

"The protection of the principles proclaimed in the U.N. Charter is historic responsibility that we cannot evade if we want to build a future full of hopes for mankind.

"Spain, which has a dynamic and growing economy, is open to cooperation with other countries, particularly with your country. This is why we are ready to promote exchanges between businessmen and specialists in all economic fields.

"The important agreements and declarations that are to be signed during your visit are the best proof of both sides' desire to to deepen the development of fruitful relations of friendship and cooperation.

"These renewed ties are justified by mutual benefit and show how the new atmosphere of mutual understanding and dialogue between our two countries and in the whole of Europe can be strengthened," King Juan Carlos said.

Gorbachev Speaks at Dinner

PM2910121390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct Second Edition 90 p 2

["Text" of speech by President Mikhail Gorbachev at dinner hosted by King Carlos I in Madrid on 26 October]

[Text] Your majesties!

Ladies and gentlemen!

On behalf of my colleagues and all of those who came with me I convey to you and the residents of Madrid my sincere gratitude for the hospitality and amicable sentiments which we have felt from our first moments on Spanish soil. We are truly excited about the meetings and thank you for the words which have just been pronounced. They encompass much of what has long supported and strengthened the attraction of our peoples toward one another. Moreover, they reflect the growing significance of Soviet-Spainish relations at a new stage of European and world development.

We are deeply satisfied with the conversations that have already taken place with the Spanish leadership—with their scale, frankness, and promising approach. This is also the basis of the documents we are to sign.

The new quality in Soviet-Spanish interaction fits into the context of the most profound changes that have enveloped the world. We are present at the beginning of a truly new era. Not only are age-old prejudices, fears, and misunderstandings falling away, but real contradictions that have determined international relations are weakening. The criteria of justice, equality, respect, and human life as such, which have figured in theories, sermons, and dreams, are beginning to function in real international politics, ousting the militaristic and great power approaches.

In an astonishingly short period of time the ideological enmity between whole parts of the world is becoming an anachronism. The point behind the existence of colossal and fantastically expensive military-political mechanisms is coming under doubt. The nightmare of the looming nuclear armageddon is rapidly evaporating in people's everyday perceptions of world events.

Common sense, natural interests, normal human solidarity, and sympathy for the misfortunes and failures of others fill the atmosphere of most of today's world.

None of this means that the distress and miserable living conditions of hundreds of millions of people across whole continents have disappeared in the blink of an eye or that ways have already been found to eliminate all the mankind's most complex problems.

But these problems, in the perspective of the new thinking, have acquired a truly global dimension and have become an object of concern for the world community and herein is the guarantee that they will be solved.

The main thing, however, is that in the development of civilization a way has been outlined—toward a peaceful period, toward disarmament, toward a renunciation of settling conflicts by force, toward the formation of an integrated universal consciousness and the recognition of the immutability of freedom of choice and a balance of real interests.

In two years the 500th anniversary of Christopher Columbus's first sailing to the coasts of America will be marked. Our country would like to be worthily represented at these celebrations.

There is something symbolic in this date. Half a millenium ago people discovered for themselves a fundamentally new conception of the world in which they lived. This is how it is now as well. It is as if we are sailing toward shores, the development of which, rendered wiser, of course, by all the negative and positive experience of the past, will open up new dimensions of human existence and a new world in all its truly global integrity and indivisibility.

Of course, our two countries have their own places in these gradiose changes. But there is also something in common which constitutes the Soviet-Spanish factor as a category which is not only political but also spiritual.

With all the individuality of each of our cultures, even, I would say, of our mentalities, a primordial capacity of sorts for thorough mutual understanding is present in them. This is just one example.

"Don Quixote" has for a long time very strongly influenced our whole spiritual life. From childhood images of kindness, justice, wisdom, and the meaning of life are associated with him. The great Dostoyevskiy wrote "...If the earth came to an end and people were asked somewhere: 'Well, did you understand your life on earth, and what conclusions have you reached about it?'—then man could silently offer 'Don Quixote':" "This is my conclusion on life. Can you condemn me for it?" In giving the world Prince Myshkin, a great madman and "idiot" from the ordinary point of view, he has created the Russian version of Don Quixote.

This cultural heritage supports the aspiration to think not simply in a "Spanish" or "Soviet" way, but in a

European way and, more broadly, on a common human, universal, humanitarian level. And this is particularly necessary today.

Our countries, figuratively speaking, have in the past been Europe's eyes on the West and the East, and have played a main part in the making of civilization. Thus, history also places the obligation upon them to make their indispensable contribution to its further progress at a completely new stage, a contribution worthy of the past of two great peoples.

In conclusion I want once more to thank all Spaniards for their hospitality and, simply, their friendly reception, and to express our kind feelings and wishes toward them.

To the health of their majesties King Juan Carlos and Queen Sophia; to the happiness and prosperity of the Spanish people!

Interviewed on Talks

LD2710201890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev by unidentified IAN correspondent in Madrid on 26 October; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] [Spanish Prime Minister] Gonzalez today, in the [word indistinct] after the talks, said to me in response to the question of what was the main thing: You know what my first impression was, he said. You know, the fact that the talks were able to take place. Such a thing has not happened before. This sounded as if he was excited.

[Gorbachev] There you are, you see. You are a living witness. And I said the same thing. There have been dramatic conversations and meetings. Well, there was Reykjavik. This was on another topic. This was perhaps such a breakthrough which as it were—well you know, in another direction, along the lines of interpreting the times, the epoch. Along the lines of how in these times, what policies there should be, what cooperation should be like, how the peoples of our countries in relation to one another should act and behave. This is what was [passage indistinct] was very glad. I am satisfied, very satisfied. And you know, I said all the same, speaking at the Cortes, Spain is interesting for us not only by virtue of traditions and the great coincidence of many of the traditions. I intend to speak about this again at the university.

But first and foremost, from the point of view of the latest, as it were, stage of our most recent history. That is the movement out of the state in which this country found itself for 30 years. And it then moved on, as you see, along the road of democracy, concord, peace, and consolidation of society. It was able to [move on]. It is this sound stability, consolidation, and national concord which has permitted it to emerge, to resolve very major problems, to break out of this isolation, and to emerge into cooperation, not only within the framework of Europe, but also far outside its boundaries. This is on the one hand.

On the other hand the extent to which we are repeating its movement—in the sphere of modernizing the economy—is interesting. This is so. And you know, if you take a wide...[changes thought] In essence what is being spoken of here is a mixed economy and various forms of ownership. In general, an economy with the presence of strong social elements. It is very...[changes thought] this distinguishes it to a great extent. This is precisely what is arising in our country and what is being discussed thoroughly during the transition to the market. [passage indistinct] And what is also interesting is the fact that the whole European conversation, in connection with the Mediterranean and the Near East, the discussion is still continuing.

I have great impressions from my contact with the king of Spain. He is an interesting man, a kind of guarantor of the political stability which allows this society to resolve major tasks. But it is also the renewal of personal contacts with my old friend, since we represent branches of the socialist labor movement, even though they are different ones. From that point of view, too, the conversation was very important.

[Correspondent] However, they will kill me, Mikhail Sergeyevich, for taking up the time you should have for sleeping.

[Gorbachev] We will sleep after perestroyka.

Gorbachev's Visit to Spain Continues 27 Oct

Lays Commemorative Wreath

LD2710110190 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Madrid October 27 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev, on an official visit to Spain, today laid a wreath at a monument commemorating the May 2, 1808 uprising against Napoleon.

The monument was built on Lealtad Square near Prado Avenue on the site where those who died in the uprising were buried.

Gorbachev stopped before the eternal flame, paying tribute to the fallen. The Soviet and Spanish anthems were played. A guard of honour fired a salute.

Receives Honorary Degree

LD2710181890 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Madrid October 27 TASS—Prominent Spanish scientists in traditional academic mantles gathered today in the Prado Palace—the residence of the head of the Spanish state, where the Soviet delegation is accomodated. A ceremony of conferring on Gorbachev the title

of Doctor Honoris Causa of the Autonomous University of Madrid and Complutence University was held there.

Caetano Lopez Martinez, rector of the Autonomous University, said at the ceremony that the Soviet president is the first political leader to be awarded the title, because, according to the tradition, it is conferred only on outstanding representatives of academic science. However, your personality and the direct and indirect traces left by your work in all spheres of social activities make this decision more than just, the rector said.

Mikhail Gorbachev made a speech in reply.

Speaks at Award Ceremony

LD2810090990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1858 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Esteemed Mr. minister!

Esteemed rector of Complutense University!

Esteemed rector of the Autonomous University!

Dear student friends!

My first words are words of gratitude to the two celebrated centers of science and learning in Madrid, whose award does me great honor.

It goes without saying that a politician cannot see such an act as a mark of distinction for his personal services. I therefore accept these titles as recognition of the value of the Soviet Union's new policy and its contribution to the world community's movement toward a fundamentally new and peaceful era.

It is particularly pleasant for me that such recognition is linked to universities. Evidently because, as a graduate of Moscow University, I have a particular attitude toward these temples of learning, where the idealistic impulses of youth encounter the wisdom of ages.

It would indeed be hard to find a better opportunity for so inclining one to reflect on a subject that seems to me to be highly topical today, that of the coorelation between politics and culture, and politics and morals. All the more so today when the artificial barriers which have hindered free communication between people are coming down, and when people are more and more permeated with feelings of community, interdependence, and solidarity.

The fates have decreed that the Soviet Union and Spain are situated on opposite sides of the European continent.

There are, however, striking parallels and, if you like, a symmetry in the history of the peoples of our countries.

One might recall that in the medieval period, our peoples had to wage a struggle for independence lasting many centuries against the foreign yoke which ended at approximately the same time in the formation of strong centralized states.

Spain and Russia had somewhat similar roles in the era of great geographical discoveries. Bearers of a spirit of search and discovery, the Spaniards went westward, the Russians to the east.

Courageous Spanish seafarers, triumphing over the boundless expanse of the Atlantic, reached the distant shores of America and then its western Pacific coast.

At about the same time, Russian explorers, with no less persistence, were making their way beyond the Urals to the shores of the Pacific Ocean and then on to Alaska. Moving southward, they found themselves within the Spanish possessions in California.

The circle was closed, encircling as it were the whole world. It is but a stone's throw from Fort Ross to San Francisco.

Thus, far from Europe, a meeting took place of representatives from two European peoples. It was a peaceful meeting, strengthened by contacts between living people. The touching and tragic tale of the love between the Russian courtier Rezanov and the Spanish girl Conquita, daughter of the commandant of San Francisco, moves people to this day.

In this centuries-long movement, we began to interact with other cultures and civilizations. This process was far from idyllic; much blood and many tears were shed, yet somehow or other both we and you built bridges uniting Europe to the rest of the world.

Both Spain and Russia have known periods of rise and fall, of national greatness and national humiliation. The bloody dramas of foreign invasions are stamped on our people's memories. Our countries have been shaken by revolutions and civil war. We know—and not by hearsay—what tyranny is when it in no way values the individual, not even human life.

Therefore, despite the lack of similarity and even the contrast between our cultures, they are related by intent attention toward and compassion for the person, a striving to free the individual from the chains, and the self-interest of the fetters of social inequality, as well as by a thirst for justice.

The dramatic history of our states has imparted particular intensity and tension to spiritual strivings. In Spain and in Russia there have always been people who have agonized over eternal issues. And the splendid fruits of this tendency have enriched the spiritual storehouse both of world art and of world thought.

Since the Renaissance, concepts of culture have been firmly connected with humanist values. And it is through culture that the rapprochement of politics and morals, and the measurement of politics in accordance with the criteria of morality then began.

It is true that throughout the centuries, history has more than once offered horrifying evidence of the incompatability of politics with morals. But it is culture—uniting

people not for interest, but in the acknowledgement of the innate value of the human personality—that has brought together these two principles in the life of society.

Culture is national but it knows no borders. Moreover, it teaches the individual to recognize his individuality and respect individuality in another—whichever nation he might belong to, whichever God he might worship, and wherever he might live. And this, although not directly, has had an influence on the sphere of politics, and in our times has become imperative.

Russian-Spanish links which go back into the far past also illustrate this. There is a monument to Pushkikn in Madrid—not simply to the great poet but also to the man who had a gigantic influence on the formation of our national character, of our understanding of the world, and of our culture, which also includes the culture of our relations with other peoples.

There is a monument to Cervantes in Moscow—not just to a great writer, but to an individual—who, like Pushkin for Russia, was and still remains the spiritual icon of the nation, an immortal source of its moral strength.

It is significant that our capitals presented these monuments to each other. Such an "exchange" is not only symbolic but also natural.

Since the end of the 18th century, Cervantes' work could be found in every village library. It has become part and parcel of Russian culture. Its heroes and images have been the subject for creative interpretation by our great writers, artists, and composers. It is still being published in millions of copies.

On the whole, I am deeply convinced: the fact that the Russo-Spanish cultural and spiritual ties are traditionally strong and diverse has played a role of its own in establishing sound and friendly relations between our peoples and states.

There is one more aspect of this problem—an exceptionally important one: The influence of politics on culture. The civil accord on the platform of democracy, which was achieved in Spain several decades after the terrifying civil war, is a convincing argument in favor of the policy of national reconciliation and renunciation of the policy of vengeance, strong-arm methods, and confrontation. And here of course, a democratic tradition which managed to survive the hard years of dictatorship and which is associated with the great Spanish culture has played a role of its own.

Spain's example in finding a synthesis of contradictory interests—in going, as Felipe Gonzalez put it, "from reality to a political project, and not the reverse"—is instructive. And although the internal conditions, let us say in the countries of eastern Europe, are today quite different—although the external situation is radically different from the one in which Spain made its peaceful transition toward democracy—your experience, without a doubt, deserves the most intent attention.

I should add that this is also true from the point of view of international politics. After all, the processes in the search for such a type of concord were, until recent times, too slowly extended to this sphere. Despite the fact that the whole of past experience, primarily in the two world wars, presented convincing arguments against the politics of force, it is only in the 1980's when the quantity and quality of nuclear weapons placed humanity before the real prospect of universal destruction, that politicians took an entirely serious attitude toward them.

The new thinking was engendered precisely as an interpretation and a reinterpretation of the experience of the 20th century. I will not speak about the changes of recent years, especially of last year. I will merely stress the main thing: They are the key to a universal peaceful order. In preparing for the entry into the 21st century, it is time to introduce elements of this future into the politics of the present day.

This is no utopia, but something real. Given, however, one indispensable condition: that we all, the world community, realize, recognize, and believe that the essence and point of contemporary politics should lie in searching for the kind of consensus that is built on respect for the freedom, independence, and national specifics of each people, and their vital interdependence. This is the only way toward the survival and progress of humanity.

Of course in different societies and different social strata, different conceptions exist of the meaning of life and the conditions and criteria for developing the individual. However, these very differences only reflect the wealth of forms and ways of achieving similar aims and the growth of the role of values common to humanity. So a new approach to the content of politics will develop, according to the formula "not the policy of force, but the force of politics."

When I reflect upon the destiny of humanity, I think of course first of all of my own country and my own people. I could spend a long time talking about our concerns, problems, and hopes. Soviet society has entered a critical phase of perestroyka. The clash of opinions and stances has acquired a character of the utmost vehemence. It reflects a profound spiritual about-turn: the rethinking of the experience of post-October development and the entire history of our great country, and the linkage on this basis of our own problems and those of the whole world and the planet.

In the policy of perestroyka—and this is an extremely capacious and dynamic concept, which is constantly developing—we are now laying particular stress on the search for a national and interethnic consensus, civil peace, and a combination of the interests of the most varied sectors of society. And while emotions continue to surface, a break with euphoria and meetings for their

own sake has already been noted. In this is the pledge that we will overcome the moment of crisis, and deal with the tasks of coming to a qualitatively new period in the country's development. At the same time it is also a guarantee that the policy of the new thinking will steadily and consistently continue in our own interests and those of the entire world community.

In conclusion, I will return once again to the correlation between politics and culture. It stands to reason that sweeping changes in the world cannot fail to affect the whole sphere of culture and the cultural life of humanity. More than this, they make insistent demands for culture to intervene more actively in politics, and to have greater responsibility.

Essentially, a fundamental change in the customary outlook on politics is imminent. Politics should become the art of building relations between free individuals, peoples, nations, and states according to principles of consensus, cooperation, and partnership. for this reason we all need, as never before, a culture of politics that is appropriate to the times, and which is founded on the unconditional recognition of the primacy of the values common to humanity.

Thank you once again.

Lauds Ties at Luncheon

PM2910102190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report on speech by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev at luncheon given by Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez in Madrid on 27 October: "Speech at Luncheon Given by the Prime Minister"]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Prime Minister,

Esteemed Mrs Carmen Romero,

Ladies and gentlemen!

The second day of my stay in Madrid prompts me yet again to speak of the tremendous impression made on us by the Spaniards' warmth, by their cordiality and hospitality which we experience at literally every step.

The entire atmosphere of the visit demonstrates our peoples' interest in and affection for one another and the durability of their mutual respect, which is a tremendous asset in interstate relations.

Asserting all this, and taking into account what has already been achieved at the talks held here, I can say with utmost certainty: There are good prospects for our relations. My confidence is confirmed by the proximity, and quite often the coincidence, of our appraisals of the world situation and the deployment of the basic forces capable of influencing it. This confidence is also backed by the remarkable changes throughout Europe.

As I understand it, both sides perceive the friendly and dynamic Soviet-Spanish relations as an underpinning structure in the building of new Europe.

At the start of this century your eminent thinker Ortega y Gasset wrote: "There will be no hope for Europe unless its future is placed in the hands of genuinely modern people who feel the beat of the historical pulse, realize the lofty nature of the tasks posed by life, and reject any reversion to backwardness and uncultured attitudes." How many sacrifices, how many losses, how much sorrow, how many lost hopes and opportunities has Europe experienced because this idea has only now started making headway in actual politics!

We expect much from the forthcoming Paris summit meeting. We hope that it will produce results befitting the grandeur of the tasks facing us all. The basic document due to be adopted there is perceived as a charter of a Europe undergoing renewal, as a program geared to all-embracing progress in completely different conditions.

It is impossible to separate the progress and security of Europe and the world as a whole from the Mediterranean. The situation here is complex. But the approaches mapped out at the Palma de Mallorca conference are promising. The Mediterranean links three continents. And a growing responsibility is borne by all who are in one way or another associated with it to ensure that neither it as a whole nor any part of it apply the brakes along the path to a peaceful period in history. It must be one of the mainstays of this process both along the East-West line and especially along the North-South line. It is highly significant that the first and most acute crisis since the end of the "cold war" flared up in the immediate vicinity of the Mediterranean region.

Ladies and gentlemen! We highly value the spirit of openness and mutual sympathy which is typical of Soviet-Spanish contacts at summit and other levels, of contacts between representatives of the public, of science, and of culture. We are in favor of our cooperation being based on an expanding mass popular base. We would like to see the Institute of Soviet Culture and Science created by the University of Madrid firmly earning the credit of being the founder of a new stage in intellectual exchanges between our countries. In order to achieve this, it is quite important to involve young people in this work to the greatest possible extent.

The conditions of the USSR's transition to the market are producing hitherto unprecedented opportunities for trade and economic relations, and many of the barriers which existed in the conditions of quite different social systems will be lifted.

Mr. F. Gonzalez and I today examined anew the essence of the major problems of our time. It is as if we never parted company since the day when our first dialogue—energetic and impassioned—was held over several hours in Moscow. Subsequently my thoughts turned back to it on many occasions, whenever I thought of my country's problems,

the importance of exchanges of experience, the Soviet-Spanish factor, Europe and the "third world," civilization's prospects, and the future of the socialist idea.

All my colleagues and I personally very highly value the atmosphere, content, and results of the talks held yesterday and today, the level of mutual understanding, and the readiness to act jointly wherever it might be necessary and possible. Thank you all.

To the health of Mrs. Carmen Romero and Mr. Felipe Gonzalez!

To the health of all who are present here!

Bilateral Declaration Signed

LD2710154190 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 27 Oct 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Madrid October 27 TASS—Visiting Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez today signed a bilateral political declaration.

A number of other important bilateral documents were signed, in particular a protocol on Soviet-Spanish consultations, a memorandum on better terms for funding trade and economic cooperation and an agreement on capital investments and their mutual protection.

The signed documents also included a ten-year programme for scientific and technological cooperation, agreements to regulate a number of legal problems, documents on cooperation in cinematography and in combating drug trafficking, and others.

PRAVDA Reports Declaration

PM2910113990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1, 3

["Text" of "Spanish-Soviet Joint Political Declaration" issued in Madrid on 27 October]

[Text] Madrid October 27 TASS—Follows the Soviet-Spanish political declaration signed in Madrid by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez:

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Kingdom of Spain,

—guided by the profound feelings of friendship and mutual respect between the Soviet and Spanish peoples,

—relying on the traditional relationship of cooperation between the two countries,

—seeking to contribute to the ongoing development of positive trends in Europe and the world,

—showing a special interest in shaping a new Europe,

—and unswervingly committed to the building of a new, fairer and more humane, peaceful and democratic international order, have arrived at the following conclusions:

I.

The Soviet Union and Spain welcome the transition from confrontation to cooperation, which is demonstrating the interdependence of the world with fresh vividness. The comprehensive nature of challenges confronting humanity is increasingly requiring collective responses.

The sides are convinced of the need to follow the chosen path, abandon the former spirit of hostility once and for all, and revive such universally shared values as trust, mutual understanding and solidarity.

Mankind should enter the 21st century free from the burden of former ambitions and prejudices and confident of its peaceful future. The Soviet Union and Spain favour peace, disarmament, mutual understanding and broader cooperation, and call for the renunciation of any actions that could jeopardise positive changes achieved in Europe and the world.

In this connection, the sides consider it essential:

—for all countries to strictly respect the principles of sovereign equality and territorial integrity, the right of each nation to decide its destiny itself, and other objectives and principles of the U.N. charter, as well as for all signatories of the Helsinki Final Act to observe its provisions,

—to strictly observe basic rights and liberties and assert the universal values of freedom, justice, tolerance and pluralism in defence of the principles of democracy,

—to enhance the United Nations Organisation and its role in the world and strengthen regional security structures designed to facilitate international stability and avert conflicts. The USSR and Spain will apply joint efforts to achieve the practical triumph of the general purposes and principles sealed in the U.N. charter,

—to actively cooperate towards the political settlement of regional conflicts and the peaceful resolution of international disputes in general,

—to overcome international rivalry by ruling out the use or threat of force, increase trust and stability in state-to-state relations, control arms and reduce them to the minimum possible levels meeting the principle of reasonable sufficiency for defence.

In this context, the Soviet Union and Spain attach particular importance to talks on reductions in nuclear and conventional arms and on the general and complete prohibition of chemical weapons, and will promote the success of this process according to the measure of responsibility borne by each of them. They also consider

it a priority to prevent the proliferation of chemical and nuclear armaments and missiles capable of carrying them. The sides support a realistic approach making it possible to scale down nuclear testing step by step with a view to ensuring its eventual complete prohibition in the future.

In the face of the danger of an outsize buildup of arms in individual countries and regions, the USSR and Spain favour increasing the effectiveness of national and international control over the export of weapons and military technology.

The sides are also concerned about the crisis of world economic structures, which is manifest in the alarming growth of developing countries' foreign debt and in disproportions in the development of various regions.

With a view to settling the crisis and in the interest of fashioning a more humane, just, peaceful and democratic world, the USSR and Spain:

—believe that each state, society and person should help improve the environment and prevent ecological catastrophes, stepping up international cooperation in order to ensure adequate security in this field,

—believe that the international community should make efforts to do away with hunger, poverty, diseases and backwardness.

—denounce terrorism in all its manifestations and call upon all countries to pool efforts to combat terrorism, illicit drug trafficking and organised crime,

—support the coordination of efforts in the peaceful exploration of outer space and use of seas and oceans, as well as efforts to solve energy problems.

II.

The new appearance of the international community at the start of the next century will largely depend on Europe's ability to be up to its share of responsibility for promoting a peaceful and fair world order.

The old continent can help create a system of relationships fully meeting the aspirations of the modern world and the traditions of European civilisation.

Modern Europe has entered a period of historical changes, marking the transition from political confrontation, schism and disunity with the associated risk of outbreak of war to the European architecture of security, stability and cooperation.

The USSR and Spain welcome German reunification and believe that this historic event is a result of the new climate in international relations and symbolises the fact that the times of the "cold war", mistrust and confrontation are over.

The USSR and Spain reaffirm their commitment to the Helsinki process and declare that they are fully resolved to cooperate between themselves and with other countries participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) to develop it.

Positive changes in our continent have prompted the concept of a common European home. The enhancement of all principles of the Helsinki Final Act and the creation of new European architecture integrating all spheres of co-existence will help shape a Europe held closely together by common institutions, which will strengthen security in the continent and make it possible to expand cooperation in economic, ecological, scientific, cultural and legal fields to the European dimension.

The Soviet Union and Spain are convinced that the forthcoming Paris CSCE summit will open a new page in international relations, and will apply every effort for its success.

A historic treaty reducing conventional arms in Europe and a declaration by countries participating in the two blocs will be signed during the meeting, furnishing a solid foundation to foster a consistent climate of security and cooperation.

The Soviet Union and Spain want the current talks on confidence-building measures in the military field and on cuts in conventional arms and armed forces to be resumed right after the Paris summit and disarmament negotiations subsequently to be joined by other CSCE countries.

Simultaneously, the Paris summit should create conditions for continued headway towards institutionalising the CSCE through the creation of structures having common European foundations and with the active involvement of the United States and Canada.

The new CSCE structure will take into account the national distinctions of states and guarantee the inviolability of borders in keeping with the Helsinki Final Act's provisions. These borders should be open to all kinds of cooperation and relations based on mutual respect and equality.

The sides reiterate their interest in ensuring the success of the Conference on the Human Dimension in Moscow in 1991.

The sides acknowledge the role played in respective fields by European organisations, in particular the European Community and the Council of Europe.

III.

Developments in some regions adjacent to Europe make one think about new parameters of European security.

The Gulf crisis, provoked by Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, affects the interests of all Europeans and endangers stability and peaceful development in the continent. The Soviet Union and Spain condemn the Iraqi actions, which are a gross violation of norms of international law,

and demand that the Baghdad government undeviatingly fulfil corresponding Security Council resolutions and immediately and unconditionally withdraw its troops from Kuwait.

The sides express concern over the situation in the Middle East in general, in particular in connection with the Arab-Israeli conflict which has for decades remained a source of instability and confrontation. The sides favour its fair, comprehensive and enduring settlement on the basis of corresponding U.N. Security Council resolutions and call for the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East.

Welcoming the overall progress of democracy in Latin America, the Soviet Union and Spain voice satisfaction with the headway made in settling conflicts and promoting reconciliation in Central America.

Convinced that European security is indissolubly linked with stability in the Mediterranean, the USSR and Spain deem it essential to facilitate dialogue among Mediterranean countries and other interested states to improve the political climate and promote cooperation in the region. The Soviet Union thinks highly of, and supports, the proposal of Spain and Italy for launching the Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Mediterranean process, regarding it as a very timely and promising initiative.

IV.

The first state visit by the Soviet president to Spain in the history of bilateral relations opens a new and important stage in the development and strengthening of cooperation between the two countries.

Spain wishes success to Soviet reforms and believes that these positive changes, democratisation in Soviet society and new political thinking are of exceptional importance to the future of international relations, the evolution of the situation in Europe and bilateral relations.

The Soviet-Spanish talks at summit level and the accords reached represent an important contribution to strengthening international cooperation and creating new European architecture.

The Soviet Union and Spain are determined to continue moving forward along the path they have chosen in bilateral relations and searching for new forms of cooperation.

With this aim, the sides agree:

—to develop and deepen political dialogue at summit and all other levels, including through regular consultations between the foreign ministries,

—to increase trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation, as well as cooperation in agriculture, fisheries, civil aviation and transport within the frameworks of corresponding agreements and programmes,

—to take measures to encourage the launch of joint ventures,

—to facilitate exchanges and cooperation in the legal field,

—to broaden people-to-people contacts, by encouraging exchanges between social, youth and other organisations, as well as contacts between individuals,

—to consolidate and update cooperation in the fields of culture, arts, education, sports, mass media and tourism,

—to facilitate the adoption of measures to improve working and living conditions for personnel at the official missions of the two countries, as well as journalists, business people, etc.

V

The Soviet Union and Spain think it desirable to put their bilateral relations to a qualitatively new legal footing and, with this aim, will begin preparing a treaty that would correspond to the present situation in Europe and the world and cover the entire range of Soviet-Spanish relations.

(Signed) M. Gorbachev

F. Gonzalez

Hold News Conference

LD2710233690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1835 GMT 27 Oct 90

[News conference with President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez in Madrid on 27 October—recorded; Gonzalez remarks translated from underlying Spanish translation]

[Text] [Gonzalez] Good morning. Thank you very much for coming to this news conference. Today we have the satisfaction and honor of having among us as a visitor, President Gorbachev, who is the first head of state from the Soviet Union to visit Spain at this extraordinarily important moment in international relations, whether on a bilateral.... It does not work? [referring to Gorbachev's earpiece] [laughter] Technical failure. Is it working? Yes, it is working. Good. There is satisfaction at receiving the visit of President Gorbachev at a very important moment in bilateral relations, for European construction and also for the construction of a new international order.

We have been very busy with talks and negotiations. Yesterday you were informed about 12 documents which were signed. Four more have to be added to these, but I do not want to take up your time. Together with a political statement, there is a protocol on consultations between both countries, a statement or memorandum on economic and financial relations, and a protocol of intent for the development of cooperation in the industrial and energy fields. These are the four agreements

signed this morning. This concludes my report on the agenda of the delegation's work.

I think it is opportune to give President Gorbachev the floor so that he can give his impressions on the visit, and to give him the opportunity to make use of the time in this news conference. I want to welcome President Gorbachev publicly once again. The king did so yesterday in the name of all the Spanish people. I want to do so in the name of the government and say that, for me, this meeting has been the continuation of one which we began in 1986. That occasion was of enormous personal satisfaction for its content in the field of ideas as well as in the field of political plans.

[Gorbachev] Thank you, Mr. Prime Minister, for your welcoming remarks. Our visit is a brief one, but that does not affect its content or importance. We are here at the invitation of the king of Spain, an invitation which was extended by Senor Gonzalez during his visit to us in the Soviet Union.

It might be said that we have come the long way round to this visit, but all that is in the past. The debts have been eliminated. Given the limited time we had at our disposal, we have succeeded in doing much to prepare for this visit and to conclude wide-ranging documents. Senor Prime Minister has already spoken of these. They elevate our relations to a new phase of cooperation. I hope the outcome of this visit will be that the doors to the development of our relations open wide. I include here political dialogue, trade and economic cooperation, exchanges, consultations, and more.

I think you are interested in our impressions. Above all, we anticipated that this visit would pass in a favorable atmosphere, since relations between us in recent years—relations with Spain—and our dialogue with the Spanish leadership have been vigorous. This dialogue has revealed a great degree of agreement and coincidence in our analyses and assessments of the world situation, and the world processes that have been developing of late, which we—not just Europeans, but the whole world—have been living through. We know, or rather knew, and sensed that this would be evident in the course of the visit, as would the traditional ties of respect and feelings between our two peoples, even though in the development of relations between our countries there have been fairly protracted periods when these relations were, as it were, frozen, or worse still, curtailed.

Nevertheless, the people kept their feelings of mutual friendship; that is the root of these relations—and feelings go deep. That much has been shown in these few days. We felt this—not only myself and my colleagues who have come here—since our contacts were perhaps less broad. Raisa Maksimovna had the chance for direct contacts with the residents of Madrid yesterday, and was able to speak with them. We have here a large group of representatives of the Supreme Soviet, of the Presidential Council, of scholars, of representatives of the artistic and creative intelligentsia, who over these few days have had about 70 contacts and interviews. There were many contacts with representatives of different circles of Spanish society. They gained very profound impressions about the burning aspirations that have appeared on the Spanish side to widen cooperation between our countries.

We think that what we did here will help to implement this aspiration in our two peoples. For us, Spain is of immense interest, first of all from the point of view of its traditions, which are always very important, and also because this country and this society have traveled a unique road following the well-known events of 1975, and this society is making a marvelous transition, in peaceful ways, in a democratic framework, from one way of living to another way of living. This society and this country have already become an organic part of European and world civilization. We consider this a huge achievement by the Spaniards. It is an example of responsibility for the fate of their state, and toward other people.

This is important to us, because we too are doing something similar, leaving behind one way of living for other ways of living. This is true in both policy, economy and our multinational state. We are very interested in the experience of Spain, which has begun to move and has even traveled a considerable path in the restructuring of its economy. It has joined, I repeat, the world economy in such a way over these years as to score impressive socio-economic results. We have shown great interest in all of this and have recieved pretty thorough information first hand.

We had very rich conversations with the king and queen of Spain. We discovered on their part a liking and a sympathy for our people, our country, and the affairs which we are carrying out within the framework of perestroyka. Both yesterday and today we had a thorough dialogue with Mr. Gonzalez, which we began with him years ago and have been continuing for many years. We began it in 1986 and it has been continuing all this time. The conversations of yesterday and today are among the most significant which I have had over the past years.

In the leadership of Spain we have a partner with whom it is interesting, useful, and important to maintain a dialogue in our rapidly changing world. The assessments and the comparison of evaluations and the views enriches us, enriches our policy, and opens up possibilities for deepening cooperation, for achieving through this cooperation other dynamics, another (?complementary) [words indistinct].

We are highly satisfied. I personally am satsfied with these talks. On the whole, the visit was great and of great dimension. I hope that these results will have a positive influence upon the development of cooperation between our peoples. I think that we will not be commiting an indiscretion, or at least, a superfluous indiscretion. Thus, if you do not praise yourself and blow your own trumpet, others may not do it for you. Therefore, it is better to maintain's one good mood. I believe that other peoples

should do what we have done here—that goes for Europeans and the whole of the world community. Thank you. Now I suppose I should answer some questions.

[(?Vernikov)] (?Vladimir Vernikov) from IZVESTIYA. Mikhail Sergeyevich, could you say a little about the theoretical talks with Mr. Gonzalez, who made mention of this during an interview with Soviet journalists in Madrid?

[Gorbachev] I am afraid we would then turn this news conference into a theoretical seminar, but I suppose I could try to say a few words about it. I believe it is very important for us to understand the phase through which our commonwealth of nations is passing. If we do not get to the bottom of this, we could commit errors in politics, not just on individual issues, but on strategic issues too. I ought to say that in our discussion Senor Gonzales and I devoted a very great deal of attention to this. The central point in these discussions—the point of departure in these discussions—was that we have all come to understand that we are of the same civilization, that we are interconnected, and that we are very heavily dependent on one another. The present generation of politicians must take account of this. Fortunately, Senor Gonzalez and I both maintain that this is happening. The present generation of politicians has shown itself capable of rising to the challenge of the times. We are faced with problems which demonstrate just how acute the problem of our common responsibility is for maintianing this civilization and the environment, for making rational use of all it has to offer. This can only be acheived within the context of new relationships. For this reason, we must resolutely distance ourselves from the situation which accompanied and which was engendered by the cold war. This will be a difficult transition. We can see that. If one country... [changes thought] I believe that we, the Spanish and Soviets, can draw on our experience to say that it is hard work switching to new forms of life. It is all very painful, and above all presupposes a genuine revolution in thinking, for we are all children of our times. This transition must allow us to maintain our traditions, all that is beneficial and positive in our memories and successive generations, while at the same time rejecting everything that holds back and impedes this movement. As for how much more difficult it is for the whole world community to move to a fresh phase in world cooperation, we should not harbor any illusions or yield to any euphoria.

We must simply work thoroughly if we understand that this has to be done. I think we understand. Three, four, or five years ago the questions you were asking... I did always feel the subtext of your questions, and now you have become sharers in all these changes. Indeed, we are all changing. A great deal has been devoted to an analysis of these changes, to what springs are placed here and what sort of mechanisms there should be to ensure a smooth, peaceful transition, with a balancing of interests, a juxtaposition of positions, and taking into account all the problems worrying people.

We, as representatives of two currents of the world workers' and socialist movement, and since Mr. Gonzalez and I each hold two jobs—he is general secretary of the Socialist Party of Spain, while I am general secretary of the CPSU—we found it possible to exchange views in terms of what we represent. We are representatives devoted to the socialist idea. I must say that here we gave each other great stimuli for reflection. We are convinced that we are leaving behind those models of socialist organization which in many ways did not justify themselves, and we are certain that the world will not give up its search for a better life, a just life, imbued with humanism, where the main value is man and everything to do with him. We can see that it is precisely in the course of this search that the implementation of [brief break in broadcast] will take place. [brief break in broadcast] alternatives. Every country has its own alternative. Every people has its own alternative. I think we now understand that this does not prevent us from remaining different, from cooperating, from having exchanges, from resolving the problems which are now facing civilization as a whole. I have tried to answer your question as briefly as possible.

[Unidentified reporter asks about a Mediterranean conference and about Gibraltar; no translation is provided]

[Gorbachev] I will leave your second question [about Gibraltar] to your prime minister, as he knows more about it. I will try to answer your first question. Mr. Gonzalez and I have had this issue in our sights for a long time. We dealt with this problem during our first meeting, that is, the problem of the Mediterranean. This issue has always been present in the activity and meetings and exchanges between our ministers of foreign affairs and in our correspondence. It seems to me—and I would like to say now—that perhaps the most important thing is not that we thought about new initiatives or something original, but we wanted to find common approaches. You know, I get the impression that there is already real lagging in this area. The European process and its searches, and what is taking shape as a result of these searches, promise that we will emerge with very interesting decisions. I speak of the Vienna process, which will enable us to reach decisions, and the Paris summit and Helsinki II. We will start talking about those rather large and important changes in the European continent, not only from the point of view of diminished military confrontation—which is, of course, in itself of great importance—but also on the level of the creation of a single economic space, a legal space, a cultural space, an ecological space. Here we are reaching understanding and comprehension, and agreements and the creation of new institutions. I think that, in this sense, the Paris meeting will lead us to major achievements.

Thus, we essentially... [changes thought] What is important is that not just new institutions are appearing which correspond to the plan for the construction of a new Europe, but that the old institutions are being transformed under the influence of these positive processes taking place in Europe.

Even such organizations as NATO and Warsaw Pact military alliances are changing. Here, also, deep processes are underway. I think that all of this bears witness to the fact that we are going over to a new security structure, to new forms of cooperation. Where else but here in Spain can it be said that, speaking of all of that, we are always thinking of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals?

After all, we Europeans are all connected with the Mediterranean. The way the processes proceed here will considerably affect the European process. If here, let us put it like this, in the underbelly of Europe, the old conflicts are not just preserved, but new ones arise, if a military confrontation is preserved here, with so many weapons stockpiled here, with so many naval forces concentrated here, and so on, I think that then the European process may find itself in dire straits. We spoke of that and we agreed to continue exchanges, taking account also the fact that there was a meeting at the level of specialists on Spanish soil, on the island. They have not yet agreed on anything there, but a very important and thorough exchange of opinions has begun.

I think that we should also step up consultations. I discovered such a desire on the part of many Arab countries, too, which are also related to this region. We had an interesting exchange of opinions on that account with the leadership of Italy and with other representatives of other countries.

It seems to me that we ought to impart greater dynamics also to the search to improve the situation so that these processes which have encompassed the European continent can be developed here too. We had a very major discussion and exchange of opinions on that problem.

Well, as I understand it, Mr. Prime Minister will not refuse to show solidarity and deal with the question.

[Gonzalez] In the case of Gibraltar, the Spanish Government's position is very well-known. The UN resolutions are also sufficiently well-known. It is a process of decolonization. I do not think that it is worth giving more time to this, because it has not occupied any part in our talks, obviously.

[EL PAIS reporter, in Spanish with superimposed Russian translation] I am from EL PAIS. I would like to ask President Gorabchev the following: Your government seems to have an interest in obtaining loans. Our government is apparently laying down some specific conditions in connection with granting these loans. I want to know whether the question of granting the loan previously discussed really has been decided. I want to ask President Gorbachev whether he thinks this question has been decided, and how far the resolution of this question will assist the process of reform in the Soviet Union, and how far the granting of assistance through international organizations will assist the process of reform in the Soviet Union.

[Gorbachev] I shall start at the end. [laughter] Now, when we have adopted the outline for the transition to the market and have already effectively embarked upon this process in earnest, difficult times are in store for us. We have a great deal to do, first and foremost, to stabilize the economy, the consumer market, finances, and money circulation. We are counting on cooperation with Western countries during this transitional period which is so important for us.

There are two points of view in the West. Some people think that it is wrong to embark upon steps right now to render financial assistance and allocate credits to the Soviet Union. They think social and economic tension will grow in the Soviet Union and will move more rapidly to the market. The other point of view, one to which we subscribe, as do many people in the West, is that now, when we have adopted far-reaching decisions, and by refashioning ownership relations are moving to a mixed economy whose natural environment must be a functioning market, and when we will be resolving very important tasks to stabilize the economy, we need these credits and financial resources in order to make any necessary maneuvers, primarily in order to make the transition to the market less painful for the population. We need them in order to resolve the issues of structural perestroyka, above all by building up the sector of the economy that serves the market—that is, light industry and the food industry, and industry that produces industrial-type durables—and also by tackling the tasks of converting the defense industry in the interests of the consumer market. We are counting...[changes thought] our plans bear in mind such cooperation at this juncture.

If such decisions are not made by the West—and we hope that they will be—then this (?limits) our possibilities to maneuver. And it would slow down the transition to the market, because then we must rely on our own strength and proceed from the fact that we will have to change the tempo of the movement toward the market. This means we must make more use of administrative command methods instead of economic, market ones. For this reason, I am convinced that our point of view is better-grounded. We will act in this way, and we are counting on cooperation.

We think that what we are doing in our country is our own business. It is our national interest, we need it. We concluded that all these changes were needed in order to impart a different dynamic, to act in the interest of people, to open up areas where initiative can be shown, and hence to make our economy more efficient and productive. Thus, we will solve the problems that have come up in our country, the problems of creating an economic plan. This is what we need first of all.

But I think that what we are doing—and on the whole, we are moving away from the total dominance of state property in our economy—we are switching from one political and economic model to another. I think the whole world community has an interest in the success of this undertaking. Moreover, how we cope with this

challenge, this historic challenge which we have taken up, will to a great degree be determined by how the processes in Europe develop because of the huge influence this multinational state has.

For this reason it seems to me that our partners here have major strategic interests, and economic ones as well. We are not asking for charity; we are asking for certain conditions, to allow us to undertake certain maneuvers at this transitional stage, and we must return these credits.

Moreover, we shall pay attention to various people's current attitudes toward us, because the Soviet Union is an enormous state and an enormous market, and we shall now begin compiling a red list and a black list.

We shall then look at this in subsequent years and see how different people acted during this stage, and we shall arrange relations accordingly. However, I must say frankly that we sense great interest on the part of the business world, in Europe, in America, and now in Japan and other countries in reaching new forms of cooperation and making this cooperation more effective.

Let me tell you that yesterday—in fact I signed them the day before yesterday—two very important decrees of the USSR president were due to be published. They pertain directly to precisely this matter. Perhaps you already know about the decree on investments—foreign investments—and fine legal prerequisites are being created for Western firms. This decree provides for the creation of enterprises with 100 percent foreign capital. The problem of reinvestment is being tackled, as is the problem of exporting. In general, equal conditions are being created for foreign partners—conditions that are equal to those of our own enterprises.

The second decree deals with devaluation of the ruble and its exchange rate in relation to the dollar. This is the first step toward convertibility of the ruble. Previously we thought this process would be more lengthy. Now we shall be more consistent and move more quickly in this direction. This opens the possibility for our Western partners to obtain normal conditions for their participation, based on cooperation, in tackling the problems we face.

I welcome the position of the Spanish Government on this issue. In fact, our discussions on this matter were very fruitful and positive, and I think some of the issues have already been decided in advance at the level of bilateral relations. The Spanish leadership will, as I understood from my conversation with Mr. Gonzalez, actively participate in achieving positive stances on other issues.

[PRAVDA reporter] I am from PRAVDA. Mikhail Sergeyevich, what is your view on this question?

[Gorbachev] Well, could you ask it first?

[PRAVDA reporter] I will ask two questions, if I may.

[Gorbachev] Go ahead.

[PRAVDA reporter] I have one question for you and one for the Spanish leader. Actually, perhaps you could both answer this question. In your view, what experience can we draw on from political life in Spain? In particular, please comment on the peaceful coexistence of different political parties, since the multiparty system is a novelty for us.

[Gorbachev] I have attempted to explain in general terms why we are interested in Spain's experience. It is, after all, a country which, like our society, has gone through a difficult phase in its history. It is no simple matter to get out of that phase. In this respect, we had quite an interesting exchange of views. I think that this part of the political dialogue was particularly interesting for us and has positive significance. I think it demonstrates that when society stands at the threshold and then actually enters a stage of anguish and transformation, political stability and national concord are essential. This is the starting point for the functioning of the entire political machinery for all its components.

From this perspective there is much that is positive here. Each society travels its own path and has its own history. There can be no copying or mechanical transfer here, but there are many coincidences. I would say that from this point of view we have become firmer on what I have mentioned in the last few days, including at the Supreme Soviet in reaction to the well-known debate that has begun in our country and has become slightly confrontational in nature. Indeed, it has become confrontational, not just slightly. It was also raised during the meeting with delegates to the trade union congress. I am confident that we need to put the nation's interests as a whole above everything else at the moment, and not subordinate the group interests of individual political movements or social strata to them. In the end, we all have an interest in the radical changes in our country, which should consolidate all the positive things that perestroyka has already brought in democratizing our society, liberating its energies, and orienting the whole of politics toward people as the focal point.

From this point of view, having exchanged views with Mr. Gonzalez, I have become even more convinced of the correctness of my stance, which is aimed at unifying all patriotic forces of our society on the basis of the principles of peresroyka and the continuation of the political course toward our country's renewal, toward its radical renewal.

What will Mr. Gonzalez add to this? I ask him to take the floor.

[Gonzalez] Let us see. The question places us in an ideological debate. I want to be prudent in my reply, although we were absolutely frank in our one-on-one talks yesterday. I would like to summarize it this way: During the twentieth century we have experienced different models of society that have confronted each other in hot or cold wars. The most recent stage we have

experienced is a cold war. The Helsinki process tried to lay the basis for the coexistence of models which continue to be different and which continue to oppose each other. Perestroyka has a special significance from my point of view; that is, the overcoming of models of confrontation or coexistence and the search for common bases for coexistence on a worldwide level in this small world village in which we live. The world is very big and complex, but, at the same time, it is very small, too small to allow us certain luxuries such as not taking into account values which, in my opinion, are shaping new dimensions in international relations. What are these values that are going to end up eliminating the opposition of models in a cold war or hot war; what are these rules for coexistence and cohabitation? The president has just spoken about them. The first value is respect for a person's rights, for the freedom of a human being. This, as Fernando de los Rios said, appears tautological: It is the freedom to be free. This unites us and means overcoming the model, or models, of confrontation. It also means a contribution in that direction. If an individual's way of thinking is respected, then it has to be respected that individuals articulate their way of thinking in plural political formations. Therefore, this leads us to pluralism.

Freedom of peoples, the collective freedom of peoples, has to be added as a value. Each has a culture, each has something to add to the reply to problems. The last thing the president said about putting general interests above particular interests is what we call in Spain a consensus. We made the transition to democracy based on respect for political pluralism, but different political forces are, and should be, in agreement that there is a common plan to be defended, a common base to be defended. That common base of consensus is what I think President Gorbachev has defended with words of national interest.

I would like to add to this the thought that perestroyka, and excuse my impertinence, is not something which is only of importance to the Soviet Union. I am interested in it. My country is interested. Therefore, economic reform, or to put it more clearly, the change of the economic system that perestroyka entails, including social change and political change, are implicit in that reform affecting such a large territorial expanse in Europe and Asia and is therefore of prime importance for any European. It is important for Spain as well. To a large extent, the stability of our future depends on the plan. Therefore, to put it in business terms, it is in the interest of my country to invest in perstroyka. I beg your pardon for saying it so crudely. It is true that it is a Soviet plan that a people's right to determine its own future must be respected.

This plan marks a new era in international relations. My country's interest is that it should succeed, politically and economically. Perestroyka can triumph in the Soviet Union and overcome the legacy of the past—those models that have been confronting each other throughout the century. Perestroyka can create common values which will allow us to coexist and which will be valid for all the world, respecting the differences in ideas.

I am not going to cease being a socialist, and I will respect that there are others who are liberals or conservatives. I am going to share those values about the freedom of the human being, the freedoms of the collectives of which they are a part, and the freedom of peoples.

[Gorbachev] All the same, things have worked out. This is useful to all of us.

[Mexican television reporter, in Spanish, fading into Russian translation] What is the biggest problem for perstroyka—the bureaucratic apparatus or the military? Another question, for Gonzalez: How will the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Spain affect Latin America? Will it have an effect?

[Gorbachev] Our experience regarding perestroyka—and I insist that in the last five years we have progressed along a path which many countries take centuries to progress—convinces me that the biggest difficulty is people's actual awareness, and that of society as a whole. In practical terms, whatever the complexities of the political and economic reforms, and of the reforms connected with the transformation of our mutli-ethnic state, in the final analysis, everything comes down to what is in people's minds.

Without a revolution in thinking, it is difficult to count on success. It is precisely...[changes thought] in this sense our society is very complex. The last decades of life in the context of that other political, economic, and social model have made their mark on our way of thinking. They have produced certain stereotypes that are not so simple to remove. Therefore, as soon as we take a step, many questions arise about where we are going. These are questions which are forever being repeated in every phase of changes, at every stage.

It is by no means simple to shape an understanding on the basis of an impartial analysis of both history and the present situation—for instance, in political or intellectual quarters—but it is even more difficult to ensure this understanding in the context of society as a whole. It is here that the greatest difficulties lie. In principle, our society has immense potential, having progressed through profound reforms, to arrive at dynamic development in the context of the political course which we have given the name perestroyka.

Basically, this is our new revolution, which we wish to implement by peaceful means and on the basis of the consolidation of society around the goals of perestroyka more and more with each passing year and stage. I am not embarrassed that even now, when above all we need consolidation, we cannot yet speak of it as a reality. I am not embarrassed that discussions are still under way and answers are being sought to the complex questions that perestroyka has set before us.

Nevertheless, there is now an awareness in our society among all sections of the population. I sense this both during my involvement in Supreme Soviet debates and in my meetings with representatives of the working class and peasantry and with outstanding representatives of our science and culture, as well as elsewhere. I sense that there is, in society, a growing understanding of the need for political stability and national concord. This is the main prerequisite that should remove the most important difficulty or at least ease it. This is the difficulty I described as the state of thinking.

I think the coming months will make it possible for us to achieve the unification of all patriotic forces in the interest of implementing the tasks that exist both in the context of the reforming of a multinational state—for instance, the draft Union treaty is now being discussed in the republics—and what is happening in the context of the transition to the market.

I would like to try to give a more detailed answer to a question that appears at first to be a very simple one, namely, what is the main difficulty. The simplest answer would be if things were better in the market and if certain things had been decided, but all this has yet to be decided. In order to resolve this, it is necessary to embark upon new forms of living both in the economy and in the multinational state and its political process. In order for this to take place, we ourselves must change. In my opinion, we cannot change life without changing our conceptions and our understanding of the main values, in the name of which these changes must be realized.

[Gonzalez] This question has been put to me many times, so I will summarize my reply. We have a treaty of friendship and cooperation with Mexico, which was signed recently. The question of perestroyka and relations comes up often. Development, change, democratization in its widest sense regarding Central and East Europe—how is this going to affect Latin America? What is the global thinking? Is it going to reduce possibilities for Latin America? My reply is that, economically, it will not at present because Latin America [30-second break in transmission]. Mexico is the focus of attention at the moment for investment. Once the most critical part of its economic problems has been overcome, its economic situation will change. Therefore, it will not be negatively affected from the economic point of view in the near future. In the mid-term, this concern will not be present, and there will even be the possibility of extending trade, economic, and cooperative relations with all the countries of Central and East Europe in a much more open way and with a better order. From the political point of view, what influence could this have? Well, I think that what we said earlier, as a matter of political reflection, is of sufficient interest for all Latin America. There is no confrontation in any country in Latin America, despite the fact that there is an exceptional situation between two total, antagonistic, and enemy models which are trying to destroy each other.

Pluralism of ideas is emerging, political plurality, democracy, in terms which now receive the support of the whole world. I have been able to witness the Soviet Union's support for the democratization processes in Latin America. The president of Argentina has come from Moscow at nearly the same time as President Gorbachev arrived. Therefore, there are political advantages, and there is the advantage of an economic situation which not even the countries of Central and East Europe, which are further advanced in economic reform, can offer in terms of the prospects of Mexico or Venezuela as regards known rules for the attraction of investment. There is nothing to fear economically or politically. There is only satisfaction to be expressed at this development.

[Unidentified reporter in Spanish, with superimposed Russian translation] Could you tell us about the mission of Mr. Primakov in the Near East and how you understand the Persian Gulf conflict?

[Gorbachev] Mr. Gonzalez and I have just held a thorough discussion on this problem, this conflict. I do not wish to touch on every aspect of this problem, but I will say a few words about the main points.

I think that all of this is very serious. Aggression and the annexation of Kuwait have been carried out by another state during a time when profound changes are taking place in international relations, when we are moving away from confrontation and the cold war toward a peaceful phase in the development of the world community. With all these processes being still nascent, with them coming into being and undergoing the period of strengthening, this is the challenge that we have encountered. Therefore, all this is very serious.

In essence, what is involved here is that we must, even now at the initial stage of our entering a peaceful phase and the epoch of the peaceful development of the world community, answer the question of whether we are able to tackle the problems that are arising by means of political approaches, or whether we must go back again to the methods which were used during the cold war period. I think that the first thing that you and I must acknowledge—and this is very important—is that within the framework of the United Nations and the Security Council, the world community has acted with exceptional unanimity, firmly and decisively, having put forward a single demand.

This, in itself, is a very major event which we must note. Even six or seven years ago it would have been difficult to predict what would have happened in a case like this and where we would all have been, on which side of the barricades, so to speak. This, in itself,is a huge change.

We must maintain this unity and our firmness and resolution. Now, given that we are leaving behind an era in which force, the arms race, force [as heard], military force, and pressure held sway, we must find different ways of addressing the most important problems. We are currently living through what is no doubt a difficult and dramatic

period. Some people may feel that positions are being conceded, and that we all find ourselves together incapable of coping with the situation. For a start, I think we are coping with it, because we are acting unamimously.

That is one point. Second, we have kept this region, and it is functioning in the interests of the world community, and this is linked with the economic interests of all countries. This is an important point.

I will now move on to the second part of the question and the results of the Primakov mission. The mission is not over yet. But in this exacerbated situation the view we hold is that all chances have to be employed to arrive at a political solution to this acute conflict, while at the same time preserving our firmness and resolution. The Soviet Union—and this is something the chairman of the Spanish Government and I noted—does possess such a possibility, and it must employ it in our common interest. Moreover, it seems to me that in the last few days there have been signals that in the Iraqi leadership, too, there is an understanding of the fact that the problem cannot resolved by means of ultimatums. I may be mistaken, and the next few days may throw some further light on this, but nevertheless now is the time for action and for endeavor.

And perhaps the moment has come when the Arab World must become thoroughly involved and state its opinion. At any rate, we must not force that direction of resolving the conflict that leads to a military method for solving the problem. I do not want to broadcast everything—all the consequences of such an approach that we have concerted with Mr. Gonzalez in this morning's conversation. But I want to say straightaway that this, it seems to me, would be extremely undesirable for us all, and we cannot forget that the Iraqi people—women, children, and the elderly—are there, not just the command of President Husayn. Our specialists are there, and those from other countries. Three thousand of our specialists remain there, and we must make use, right to the end, of everything at our disposal to find a peaceful solution to the problem. I think that, one way or another, the position as a whole in the Near East and the chronic nature and danger of that conflict prompt us toward that.

I do not think that there is a direct link. The aggression must be condemned, stopped, and measures must be implemented to return everything to the initial state. But I think that this should be followed by our energetic action to unravel the situation. We cannot leave it as it is any longer [yeye bolshe konservirovat]. It is very dangerous. We must end it.

We hope that, despite all the difficulties—Primakov's mission in conjunction with all that we are doing at the level of the highest state leaders, that the foreign ministers and our representatives in the United Nations are doing—all this constitutes necessary links in the search for a political solution to this acute conflict.

There is no need to give in to panic. And President Husayn cannot count on ...[changes thought] and if he is basing his calculations on being able to split us, cause us to fall out, bring us into conflict, then this is a most profound error.

But if nevertheless common sense appears in his position, then the possibility of finding a way out using political approaches will nevertheless open up. But we cannot go backing down on the principles on which we are standing.

I do not know, maybe Mr. Gonzalez will add something, but there was a great coincidence in our evaluations and analysis of the situation, and in the next steps which need to be taken.

[Gonzalez] The only thing I would add would be on new things that occur, but I agree totally with the analysis, with the response. We even discussed the subject of the solution to the crisis after the fact in the hope that the crisis will be solved, knowing that the UN resolutions, following a solution to this crisis, will have to face finding a solution to other problems in the Middle East, some of which are long-standing. We also agreed on that. Therefore, I think the analysis is correct and the shuttle communications which exist at present bear the name of Primakov. I think that is very good. Some lines of communication have to be maintained to see if the UN resolutions are rigorously adhered to.

We have to finish. Time is pressing. Each of us has obligations to fulfill. Thank you.

Gorbachev Meets With Spanish Officials

Meets Communist Party Leader

LD2710102390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0940 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] In Madrid M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, has met with Julio-Anguita, general secretary of the Spanish Communist Party.

During a direct friendly conversation many questions were discussed, including the transformations in the Soviet Union, and the new stage in the activities of the Spanish Communist Party as part of the "united left" coalition.

In the context of deep positive changes in Europe, slowness in tackling the problems of the Mediterranean area was noted.

M.S. Gorbachev and J. Anguita agreed on further contacts between the parties, expressed their readiness to promote the deepening of Soviet-Spanish interaction in the interests of both countries, Europe, and peace.

Among those taking part in the conversation was F. Palero, member of the Political commission of the Spanish Communist Party, Central Committee secretary.

Meets Trade Union Leaders

LD2710210890 Moscow TASS in English 2053 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Madrid October 27 TASS—Soviet president had a short meeting here today with leaders of the two largest trade union associations of Spain—Antonio Gutierrez (Workers' Commissions) and Nicolas Redondo (General Union of Workers).

They discussed the relations of trade unions with the government and parties, as well as the role of strikes. They also touched upon the problem of socialist mentality among the European left-wing forces and the very content of the socialist idea and ways of its possible implementation in various countries.

Antonio Gutierrez and Nicolas Redondo expressed solidarity with Soviet working people and wished them success in the implementation of perestroyka. Gorbachev, in his turn, expressed hope that the Spanish trade unions would take an active part in the development of Soviet-Spanish relations.

Gorbachev Ends Visit to Madrid 28 Oct

Comments Upon Departure

LD2810101890 Moscow TASS in English 1001 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Madrid October 28 TASS—An official ceremony to see off President Mikhail Gorbachev and his wife Raisa was held at the Pardo Palace today. The ceremony was attended by King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophia.

An orchestra and king's guards in picturesque ancient uniforms marched past the Pardo Palace. The two countries' hymns were played and a salute was fired. Gorbachev and the king reviewed the guard of honour.

The visit is not over yet. The Soviet president and accompanying officials headed for Madrid's Barajas airport to leave for Barcelona.

Visits Barcelona

LD2810121390 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Barcelona October 28 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev arrived here today.

In Barcelona's Airport he was met by Crown Prince Felipe of Asturias, the Spanish king's son, and President of the Catalonian Government Jordi Pujol.

Barcelona is Spain's second largest city. The Soviet president will meet the local leadership and businessmen and get acquainted with preparations for the 1992 Olympics.

Leaves Spain 28 Oct

LD2810161890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1554 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Excerpt] Barcelona, 28 Oct (TASS)—TASS special correspondents: The official three-day visit of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev to Spain has ended. Today the Soviet head of state and the persons accompanying him left Barcelona for Paris. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev's Reaction to Visit Reported

Notes Shared Traditions, Reforms

PM2810181090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

[Report on interview with President Mikhail Gorbachev by special correspondents V. Vernikov and A. Sychev on 27 October in Madrid: "We Find Each Other Interesting"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The visit was intensive and difficult. It was not easy for journalists to keep up with the rapid succession of events. As if to make up for this, an invitation arrived for several Soviet correspondents to meet with M.S. Gorbachev in his residence in the Prado Palace at around midnight.

There, after nearly two hours of very interesting conversation, the USSR president gave one of us this brief interview, in which he shared his impressions of the visit to Spain:

[Gorbachev] For us, Spain is interesting not only by virtue of traditions but also because of the many coincidences in our positions. Its present situation is, from the viewpoint of recent history, an example of emerging from an impasse in which the country spent 50 years. And look how it is following the path of democracy, national consensus, and peace, the path of consolidation of society. It has succeeded in embarking on the resolution of the biggest problems, ending its isolation, and beginning active cooperation not only in Europe but far beyond.

It is also interesting that to some extent we are echoing its progress along the path of modernization of the economy. Here a wide range of questions is also of interest: The mixed economy, different forms of ownership.

The range of political problems discussed was broad; we talked about European affairs, the Mediterranean, and the Near East. My contacts with King Juan Carlos I of Spain made a tremendous impression on me. He is a very interesting man, a kind of guarantor of political stability in the country, which enables society to tackle major tasks.

Personal contacts were also resumed with my old friend Felipe Gonzalez. I have previously had many exciting and difficult conversations and meetings, in Reykjavik, for instance, although there the conversation was on an entirely different topic. But I have never in my life had a

conversation like the one in Madrid. It was a conversation about interpreting the times we live in, about what politics should be today, what cooperation should be, how peoples and countries should relate to one another, how they should operate and act.

Sees Mutual Cooperation

LD2810214190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Interview with USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev by unidentified Vremya correspondents in Barcelona on 28 October; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] In the evening, the USSR president left Barcelona for Paris. Prior to his departure he gave an interview to a Vremya correspondent.

[Correspondent] This is for the Vremya program. Can I have a few words for Soviet viewers? What are your impressions of Spain and the Spaniards at the end of your visit?

[Gorbachev] Well, you know, they are perhaps the greatest of impressions. We indeed had much business here. Important discussions have indeed taken place on political matters and bilateral relations and on the processes occurring in Europe. We reached agreement on many things. We signed 16 documents, beginning with political ones such as the declaration, and many agreements relating to various spheres of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, down to exchanges.

[Correspondent] [words indistinct] ready for cooperation?

[Gorbachev] They are well disposed. I have to say that business circles here have the kind of experience which is useful for us.

[Correspondent] Did you have contacts of a purely human nature?

[Gorbachev] On a purely human....

[Correspondent, interrupting] Will cooperation between us work?

[Gorbachev] Yes. This country is, perhaps, closest of all to us, because it is, itself, only just coming out of the transition period and is moving in the same direction. There is much of interest here. This is the case with the political process itself, for it is coming out of a certain period, and also the economy, which is moving to a market economy. That is the first thing.

Of course, I have to say that the attitude of the Spaniards is astonishing. Look at how we were met in Barcelona. In Madrid we ha fewer opportunities to meet people, whereas here we simply...[changes thought] evidently there are such open feelings and there is great support for what we are doing. Everyone asks, from the ordinary Spaniard right up to the King of Spain: What can wee do to help you? We want to be with you, to support you. The visit, though very brief, has been very rich in content, and very emotional.

[Second correspondent] So Spain has not disappointed you, but rather strengthened your [words indistinct]?

[Gorbachev] Undoubtedly. Undoubtedly. Yes. I think that there are enormous chances here for cooperation. I see that we have here a leadership with which we can conduct very successful and fruitful business.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

Journalists Interview Spanish Premier

PM2910105190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Report on an interview with Spanish Premier F. Gonzalez by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Vernikov in Madrid; date not given: "New Stage of World Development"]

[Text] Madrid—In connection with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's forthcoming visit to Spain, F. Gonzalez, chairman of the country's government, met in Madrid with own correspondents of IZVESTIYA, PRAVDA, the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and TASS. In the talk which took place, which went beyond the framework of an ordinary interview, he voiced the Spanish Government's official position on a wide range of international problems and on the development of Soviet-Spanish relations. Below we publish, with some slight abridgments, his replies to some of the questions put to him.

On M.S. Gorbachev's Visit

I am glad of Mikhail Gorbachev's forthcoming arrival in Spain. Glad because we shall be able to continue the talk begun back in 1986. It was a very interesting dialogue which lasted many hours. But that was the start of perestroyka—an undoubtedly exceptional phenomenon. We exchanged our countries' experience, although there was an ideological topic, so to speak, in the talks: We sought joint positions on a socialist plane. We spoke of the situation in Europe and international affairs as a whole but a lot of water has passed under the bridge in four years and much has changed. Probably it is impossible to repeat our talks using those criteria: We now live in an atmosphere of sorrow and hope. And what will prevail depends on the specific situation. I think that a new stage will begin in world development which will to a certain extent be caused by the process called "perestroyka."

On Perestroyka's Influence on Events in Europe

Perestroyka in the USSR is generating enormous interest throughout the world and naturally in Spain too. Its influence on the changes taking place in Europe is enormous. I think this is the most important transformation of those which have happened in the 20th century. But I want to stress that these are peaceful changes which cannot be compared with what happened

in 1917. It is a case of a historical process of extraordinary importance. If 1986 can be called the stage of the start of the reforms then 1990 is already the process of radical changes affecting the system's roots.

What can we Spaniards do today, how can we help? From the start I have followed with colossal interest the process of perestroyka but did not the stance of extolling it. At the same time I expressed neither distrust nor skepticism with regard to the changes taking place in the USSR, although I know that your country is now experiencing enormous difficulties. I believe that it is impossible to resolve them from outside, a very great deal depends on how your people will work—85 percent of success is in their hands.

From outside we can only help overcome problems, in particular economic problems. We will make serious efforts in support of perestroyka if we have certainty and trust in the emergence of a new economic and social order. But we should also mention the fact that it is scarcely possible to count on aid from states, aid should rather be expected from private capital, since many states, even a powerful country like the United States, do not have surplus funds to satisfy the Soviet Union's economic demands right now.

On the Settlement of Regional Problems

The all-European process of detente and cooperation should be extended to other regions of the world, in particular to the Mediterranean. The CSCE, which came to the Helsinki Final Act, is an effective instrument which at the present moment is acquiring a new function and can demonstrate greater efficiency in the development of relations between East and West Europe with, naturally, a transatlantic "Link," that is with the United States and Canada.

We are realizing increasingly that the world is interdependent and interconnected, that problems of security and cooperation have as it were been combined. If the security which we all want must be based on mutual trust and mutual penetration, on the elimination of obsolete antagonisms and primarily of the 'satanization" of our opponent, then we believe it should not be restricted to the zone of what has traditionally been the Atlantic Alliance and the Warsaw Pact. We must also be concerned for the security of the southern zone of Europe since the Mediterranean is also a part of it and the level of economic development of the region's countries is considerably lower than in the north of the continent. It is precisely this factor in combination with the demographic explosion which makes the Mediterranean a zone of constant potential conflicts.

The situation in the Near East is well known to everyone while the events in the Persian Gulf zone have considerably worsened the situation, making it very, very alarming. And that in a period of, essentially, the elimination of blocs, which reaffirms our opinion that the problem of "East-West" security also has another dimension—the South. The Spanish, Italian, French, and other initiatives to transfer the CSCE experience to the Mediterranean are linked with this subject. I am speaking of the process and not of a future conference which could produce some results.

On Conferences in Rome and Paris

In Rome the meeting of leaders of the EEC countries will discuss now and in December questions of European building connected with the intensification of the process of unity in the field of the economy and finances and in the political field. I think that we have sufficient internal concerns to achieve what we want [sentence as published]. This is also an acceptable platform for taking some supranational decisions.

I think that other countries too, like Poland and Hungary for instance, will also be involved in this process. But we intend to talk not only about our internal problems but also about the situation in other countries and, of course, about relations with the Soviet Union. Conditions enable us to speak of coordinating efforts on the basis of trust.

We must build a common new European edifice or at least considerably modernize the present edifice. The forthcoming all-European summit meeting in Paris can also do this. But we must not make a mistake by pinning too great hopes on it in order to avoid being disappointed later. First at least we must at any rate create new mechanisms in Europe which can set our designs in motion. Of course, Spain's position will be constructive at both conferences.

Shevardnadze Meets With Spanish Counterpart

Relations 'Reaching a New Level'

LD2610232990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] In Madrid today talks took place between the foreign ministers of the two countries—Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Fransisco Fernandez-Ordonez. A wide range of issues was discussed pertaining to the world situation. Special attention was paid to bilateral relations: A whole series of important interstate documents was signed. The very list of documents signed, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze said, allows the conclusion to be drawn that Soviet-Spanish relations are reaching a new level.

Sign 12 Agreements

LD2710090990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0830 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Gorbachev expressed profound satisfaction with his conversations with the Spanish leadership on the first day of his visit to Spain. Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez have already signed 12 agreements. An important agreement

on providing our country with a large credit up to $1.5 billion to provide Soviet shops with Spanish consumer goods is still to be signed, officials report.

Shevardnadze Describes Results

LD2810214690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1615 GMT 28 Oct 90

[By TASS special correspondents]

[Excerpt] Madrid, 28 Oct (TASS)—[passage omitted] Reviewing the results of the visit, USSR Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze told a TASS correspondent: An impressive package of agreements has been signed. This is the first time in the history of Soviet-Spanish relations that we have succeeded in preparing such a solid basis for cooperation in the area of politics, economics, culture, science, and technology. The main thing is the political declaration, which I would call definitive. There are good prospects, because this declaration includes a special article saying that we are to work with the Spanish leadership on preparing a new major treaty of friendship, mutual understanding, and cooperation on the very broadest scale. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev's Visit to France Previewed

Paris Awaits Arrival

LD2810154690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] [Announcer Andrey Sisnev] The official visit to Spain by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev ends today. The city of Barcelona is its final stage. And meanwhile, everything is ready in France for the arrival of the Soviet leader in Paris this evening. Our Paris correspondent, Oleg Maksimenko, is on the line now. Over to him. Good afternoon, Oleg!

[Maksimenko] Hello. Paris is ready to take up the baton of Madrid. The arrival of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his wife at Orly is expected at 2000 Moscow time.

This will be the eighth meeting between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Francois Mitterand. Before that, the Soviet leader paid two official visits to France. The first took place in 1985 and the second in 1989. This visit, the third by the Soviet leader is a working one. It will be a short one. The new Soviet-French summit, which will begin this evening, will end tomorrow in the second half of the day. Although a very short one, the meeting promises to be very intensive.

I have before me the program of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's stay in France. His talks with Francois Mitterand will begin immediately after arrival from the airport. They will take place in the Elysee Palace, the official residence of the president of the French republic.

The main event of tomorrow will take place in the summer residence of the president of the French Republic, in Rambouillet Castle which is approximately 50 km from Paris. A bilateral agreement between the Soviet Union and France will be signed there, a treaty on accord and cooperation, which is awaited with great interest.

What is the reaction to the forthcoming visit of the Soviet leader? It can be said that all are awaiting it with great interest. The opinion is being expressed here that the visit will become a major stage in the process of the development and strengthening of Soviet-French relations. But the greatest attention is being paid here to the Soviet-French treaty on accord and cooperation. It is a question, as many of the leading mass media of France stress, of a new type of document which has been elaborated in the conditions of a new historical epoch after the end of the cold war.

An official representatives of the Elysee Palace, Hubert Vedrine, one of the closest advisers of the president of France, characterized the forthcoming document as unprecedented in the history of Franco-Soviet relations.

I would like to cite another statement of Hubert Vedrine. In particular, he noted, speaking of the forthcoming visit and of the French position, that France intends to assist in the most effective way the reforms being carried out at present in the Soviet Union. The difficulties which it is encountering along this path, the presidential adviser continued, in no way jeopardize the orientation toward profound cooperation, about which France is continuing to think and which it ought to continue to develop and expand.

Well, such is the attitude of the French side to the future of our relations and it can only gladden and give grounds for hope and therefore, all are expecting with great interest that another Franco-Soviet summit will end by yielding great positive results.

[Sisnev] Thank you very much. Oleg. I hope that you will later tell us about the course of the visit. Thank you very much. all the best.

[Maksimenko] Yes, of course. All the best.

Spanish Tour Seen as 'Prelude'

PM2810155890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 3

[Report from Madrid by special correspondents V. Volkov and T. Kolesnichenko: "Toward New Shores"]

[Text] The official part of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to Spain has ended. After a short stopover in Barcelona he will leave for Paris. A new stage of what might be called the Soviet president's European tour will begin.

Late yesterday night, when Moscow dawn was already breaking, we met with M.S. Gorbachev. There was not much time, and we asked him the question we thought was most important: Can his trip to Spain be regarded as a prelude, so to speak, to the summit meeting which

opens in Paris 19 November, already christened "Helsinki-2"? After all, a new era in European history will be reckoned from that date. After a moment's thought, the president replied: "Yes, probably. Spain, like other European countries, is making its own unique, invaluable contribution to building the all-European home. Comparing the positions of European leaders and integrating their national interests within the context of a general system of security and cooperation on our continent is precisely what should lead to consensus in erecting a new Europe."

If the Madrid talks are assessed from this viewpoint, it may be said that they not only vindicated hopes, but also proved to be a kind of yardstick. At today's press conference the two leaders particularly stressed the coincidence of positions on a number of most important European and worldwide problems. This important fact is confirmed by the joint Soviet-Spanish documents that were adopted. They are also important for Spain because they give it a position among the states actively participating in the building of a more just, humane, peaceful, and democratic international order.

Only a few years ago it was thought that only the "superpowers" could manage world affairs. Medium and small states were assigned a passive and, so to speak, secondary role. But when the cold war "cannons" fell silent, the voice of these states was immediately heard. Indeed, taking the old approach, it would be possible to express some doubt about the role that can be played in resolving the main problems of war and peace by a country that is of medium size, does not possess nuclear weapons, is not a member of the Security Council, and does not have the status of a great power. But times have changed. Spain participates actively on an equal footing with its European partners in key disarmament processes and makes a weighty contribution to eliminating the prospect of nuclear war. And it demonstrates this not verbally, but in practice, by not even seeking to acquire nuclear weapons. On the contrary, by refusing them. It thereby sets a good example to its neighbors, especially Britain and France, which still base their status and "position in society" on possession of the nuclear bomb.

The dialogue on equal terms which took place both in the government palace of Moncloa and at the meetings with the king of Spain showed that the Soviet Union views that country's foreign policy course with tremendous respect and sympathy. The spirit of mutual understanding also permeated the Joint Soviet-Spanish Political Declaration.

If some people were skeptical that distant Spain could be of any use to us today, the agreement on granting our country credits of nearly $1.5 billion (to be precise $1.4 billion) is itself enough to dispel these doubts. It was not easy to find these resources. F. Gonzalez stated that "considerable efforts" had been required but Madrid did this because, as EL PAIS writes today, it seeks to "contribute to the success of Soviet perestroyka." But this is not the only agreement. A whole package of accords were signed yesterday, and four more today. They include a memorandum on consultations between the foreign ministries, agreements in the sphere of tourism, cinematography, the prevention of incidents at sea, and cooperation in combatting the illegal drugs trade, a long-term program for scientific and technical cooperation through the year 2000, and a program of cultural and scientific cooperation in 1990-1992.

Talking with representatives of the business world in recent days, we perceived that they are ready to fulfill scrupulously the terms of the agreements signed and to move on as quickly as possible from words to deeds, to practical steps. To be fair, it should be admitted that there are, in diplomatic language, "considerable reserves" in trade and economic relations between the Soviet Union and Spain. To be quite frank, not everything is yet as it should be in this sphere, particularly in the activity of the 20 or so joint enterprises set up in recent years. This is not only because Spanish businessmen are afraid to risk capital because of the political instability in our country. There are other factors too. Chief among them, our interlocutors confided, are the confusion at the various "levels" of our economic pyramid, the fear of responsibility, red tape, slow decision-making, and other defects of Soviet departments.

"I am already accustomed to finding," one of them told us, "that all my urgent telexes to Moscow are answered at best a month later, when, as you say in Russia, 'the train has already left.'"

But this minor key does not predominate today. Both the Spanish leaders' remarks and the local press unanimously note primarily the positive nature of the Soviet-Spanish dialogue. The constructive, politically intensive mood of the USSR president's conversations with the Spanish prime minister is stressed.

During the news conference, which attracted the attention of mass media from all over the world, we asked the two leaders this question: What experience can be gleaned from Spain's political life, and in particular from the "peaceful coexistence" between different parties? After all, a multiparty system is a new thing for us.

Detailed answers followed, which M.S. Gorbachev summed up thus: We had a seminar, but we all benefitted. The president stressed particularly that Spain's experience of the transition to democracy without cataclysms on the basis of consolidation of all society's healthy forces is of interest to us. He compared this process with what is happening in our country. The president expressed confidence that our people will also show wisdom and prudence.

Indeed, there was an exchange of opinions on the most vital problems of ideology, human rights, freedom of choice, and a political culture in which a multiparty system means not a fight to the death but a quest for the constructive development of all society. This is particularly interesting in that M.S. Gorbachev and F. Gonzalez expressed commitment to the socialist idea and stressed

the real potential for building human society in a more humane way. This philosophical dialogue is very topical. It is no secret that some people in our country regard the market and the idea of a mixed economy including private ownership as a transition to a capitalist system.

And so the visit is ending. "Gorbachev Conquered Madrid"—these words, splashed across the leading local newspapers, reflect the sincere warmth with which the Spanish received the Soviet leader. It may be said confidently (and this is emphasized in the joint declaration) that the USSR and Spain are now linked by the most profound feelings of friendship and mutual respect. In one of his speeches here the Soviet president noted that there is something symbolic in the forthcoming 500-year jubilee of Columbus' first voyage to the shores of America. Half a millenium ago, people discovered a fundamentally new idea of the world they were living in. The same is happening now. It is as if we were sailing toward the shores of a world that is new by virtue of its truly global integrity and indivisibility. Bon voyage!

French Official Comments

LD2610231390 Moscow TASS in English 1746 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Khrekov]

[Text] Paris October 26 TASS—The development of relations with the Soviet Union is a fixed direction in France's foreign policy, the French president's diplomatic adviser Hubert Vedrine told a news conference here today.

The news conference was devoted to the summit between Presidents Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand, scheduled between October 28-29.

"We clearly perceive all the problems and difficulties experienced by the Soviet Union, but we do not beleive that there are significant reasons for changing our course," Vedrine said.

France will continue efforts aimed at urging the European communities and the seven advanced industrial countries to develop cooperation with the Soviet Union. Paris has already taken a number of steps in this direction, he said.

On Mitterrand's instruction, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas sent proposals to twelve EC foreign ministers on prospects for signing a big new treaty on cooperation between the European communities and the Soviet Union. The initiative was positively assessed by them, he said.

Vedrine said France and the Soviet Union might cooperate in transport, nuclear engineering, telecommunications and personnel training.

Reports Note Gorbachev's Arrival, Talks in France

Arrives in Paris 28 Oct

LD2810193190 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Paris October 28 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in France today at the invitation of President Francois Mitterrand.

At the airport, Gorbachev was met by President Francois Mitterrand, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, French Ambassador to the Soviet Union Jean-Marie Merillon and other officials.

The national anthems of the two countries were played, and the guard of honor marched past. The Soviet president was then taken to the Marigny Palace—his residence in France. The Soviet flag was hoisted above the palace.

The new Soviet-French summit is expected to be exclusively business-like. It is a working meeting with a very extensive programme. The two presidents had their first talk straight after Gorbachev's arrival at the Elysee Palace.

It is expected that during the visit, a treaty of accord and cooperation between the Soviet Union and France will be signed, as will some other documents envisaging further strengthening of bilateral cooperation in the economic, scientific, technical and educational fields.

Leaders Discuss Gulf

LD2910093790 Moscow TASS in English 0927 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Paris October 29 TASS—Talks between Presidents Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand started here Sunday evening, immediately after Gorbachev's arrival in Paris.

Both presidents stressed the importance of their meeting, which is taking place on the eve of the CSCE summit, during the most dramatic moment of the Gulf crisis and the acutest period of Soviet reforms. A clear-cut and practical stand towards the USSR is now required from all those responsible for shaping future world policies.

"The present generation of politicians," Gorbachev noted, "has proven able to meet the challenge of our epoch and offer the first, but very substantial steps towards a new era of peace. Continued process is unthinkable without the Soviet-French factor, a key element that affects this process positively." The Soviet president attached great importance to this factor.

"Today we need an intellectually and politically grounded analysis of new phenomena, a clear-cut orientation towards new values, and complete denunciation of old approaches to world affairs. It would be very dangerous for policies vis-a-vis the Soviet Union to be governed by such approaches," Gorbachev stressed.

"The Paris meeting is an extremely important event in European history and world politics. It must draw on recent experience and reflect the radical and even fundamental changes that have begun and will gain momentum," he noted.

Mitterrand made several substantial remarks and evaluations regarding preparations for the Paris meeting. He indicated areas that deserved particular attention and expressed confidence in the meeting's success.

The first talk touched on the Gulf crisis only in principle.

The presidents agreed to make maximum use of Gorbachev's brief stay in Paris to thoroughly discuss all problems within the range of the Soviet-French factor.

Sign Accord

LD2910125790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1157 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By unidentified TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Paris, 29 Oct—The treaty on accord and cooperation between the USSR and France was signed today at the Chateau de Rambouillet near Paris. The document was signed by Mikhail Gorbachev, president of the USSR, who is on a visit here, and Francois Mitterrand, president of the French Republic.

Opening the signing ceremony, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas stressed that "the treaty is very important". He noted that this is the first time in 27 years that a bilateral document of this nature has been signed by France.

Delegations Continue Talks

LD2910112990 Moscow TASS in English 1122 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Rambouillet October 29 TASS—Soviet-French talks are continuing at Chateau de Rambouillet. After the one-to-one meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand, the talks are now being held between the two sides' full delegations.

Hold News Conference

LD2910134190 Moscow TASS in English 1325 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By unidentified TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Paris October 29 TASS—The Soviet-French treaty on concord and cooperation, signed here today, ushers in a new stage in relations between the two countries. "We rejoice at its significance and level," President Francois Mitterrand told a joint news conference in Chateau de Rambouillet.

Mitterrand stressed that the two countries had not signed such documents for about ten years.

Turning to his talks with President Gorbachev, Mitterrand said they focused on many political issues and, of course, on problems linked with the treaty. He stated that the sides discussed Europe's development, the forthcoming CSCE summit in Paris, and the situation that would emerge after the meeting. The sides also discussed the Gulf crisis.

Mitterrand enumerated the bilateral economic documents signed today.

Then the floor was taken by President Gorbachev, who stressed that "I second with satisfaction" everything said by the French president. Gorbachev expressed satisfaction with the results of his meetings and talks with Mitterrand.

French President Francois Mitterrand told a news conference here that his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev mainly focused on the development of Europe, preparations for the European summit, and the Gulf crisis.

Mitterrand expressed satisfaction with the fact that both sides "succeeded in quickly and successfully advancing in important areas, to which both sides attach great importance from the point of view of bilateral relations".

The two leaders, Mitterrand continued, as well as the French prime minister and foreign ministers, signed a state treaty of understanding and cooperation which "acquires special attention not only thanks to the scale of problems but also because it is the first treaty in many years."

The French president briefed journalists on Soviet-French documents signed during the visit. They include a protocol on financial agreement, under which the French Government grants the Soviet Union five billion francs in financial aid, a programme for economic, industrial, scientific and technological cooperation between the two countries for the 1991-1995 period, an agreement on cooperation in the field of labour relations, employment and professional training, a protocol of understanding on cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and France's National Centre for Scientific Research.

President Gorbachev noted that during his talks with President Mitterrand, they mainly discussed current problems and global changes.

Humanity has done away with the cold war and is entering a new stage, the "stage of effective peaceful cooperation", Gorbachev said.

Speaking of the role of the Soviet-French dialogue in the world politics, the Soviet president noted that the Soviet-French "factor has always had original significance". Today, the "Soviet-French factor will play an important role in the European and world politics," he said.

Gorbachev described the forthcoming CSCE Paris summit as a "major event". He said he and President Mitterrand had discussed preparations for the summit. "We can say even now that it will be a success, but we want it to be a major success, as the question is now we

will live together, cooperate with each other in a completely new historic epoch," Gorbachev said.

Gorbachev pointed to the "great degree of mutual understanding" between him and Mitterrand during the discussion of the Gulf crisis.

He said the sides had reiterated their adherence to the international community's "unity in the face of Iraq's aggression" and expressed their desire to closely cooperate in order to settle the conflict "on the basis of principled approaches formulated by the U.N. Security Council".

The Soviet president said Iraqi President Saddam Husayn should not be given "even the slightest pretext to hope for discord in the international community and for a weakening of its positions on Iraq's aggression". He described such hopes as a "delusion".

Gorbachev emphasised that the international community "cannot accept a military solution" of the Gulf problem. He called for "stage-by-stage measures to prompt Iraqi leaders to understand that they are acting against common sense and threatening the whole world, including their own people".

Gorbachev described the Iraqi leadership's actions as "adventuristic".

"We call for a political settlement of this conflict, but the situation is coming to a head and we all should take active measures," he said.

Speaking at a joint news conference with French President Francois Mitterrand in Rambouillet today about Yevgeniy Primakov's second trip to Baghdad, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "Primakov's conversations indicate that President Saddam Husayn's stand is not that which he held some time ago. Some reflection has taken place".

Gorbachev also said that "the time has come" to bring the Arab factor to bear, and there are positive moves possible here.

Speaking about the problem of Western hostages and Soviet specialists in Iraq, Gorbachev described as "Amoral" the use for political ends of people invited to the country by the Iraqi Government to help solve many Iraqi economic problems.

Having said that the Soviet Union still has some 3,000 specialists in Iraq, Gorbachev emphasised that the Soviet leadership "cannot leave a single man without attention" and continues to take actions in order "to finally solve the problem".

According to him, this position was reaffirmed by Primakov in talks in Baghdad, while the Iraqi side gave additional instructions to consider "this very important humane problem".

Gorbachev described as speculative statements that his foreign trips were "ill-timed" as the Soviet Union was passing through a difficult period in its development. This point of view, he said, reflects the political struggle and processes under way in the Soviet Union.

Gorbachev said that the solution of the country's problems, including economic, called for changes not only in the Soviet Union's domestic but also in its foreign policy.

It must now be stated that the world has come close to deep disarmament processes and has departed from antagonism and confrontation towards partnership and cooperation, trust and friendship. In internal affairs, Gorbachev said, this enables a new understanding to be reached of military doctrines, structures and the role of armed forces and the military sector of the economy.

The president also noted that the Soviet Union's international activity creates conditions for greater security of the country and all nations. "It is the universal good without which it is difficult to build plans for the future," he said and added that the removal of military danger has opened new prospects for individual countries and international cooperation as a whole.

"I am confident that we are pursuing a policy that meets the vital interests of our people and peoples of other countries," Gorbachev said.

Asked about the future of socialism in the Soviet Union, Gorbachev said that the people "who have lived through very difficult stages in development after the 1917 Socialist Revolution, have preserved, rather than lost, their adherence to the Socialist idea".

He described the current reforms in the Soviet Union as a "departure from the Utopian model that was imposed artificially on our society and was accompanied by totalitarian phenomena".

The president emphasised the need to return to values connected with the "socialist idea".

He described himself a "convicted [as received] advocate of the Socialist idea", which he said does not prevent him from being "open to conversations, contacts and dialogue with all other political tendencies in the country and beyond".

Commenting on the development of Socialist thought in the West, Mitterrand said: "I do not think it would be wise to demand that Soviet leaders learn only our lessons. They should also take into account and rely on their own experience, their own realities."

The French president paid tribute to the "intellectual courage with which the Soviet leadership is trying to turn their country to a new socialist path and unite democracy and freedom with the enterprising spirit".

The Soviet-French treaty on concord and cooperation, signed here today, ushers in a new stage in relations between the two countries. "We rejoice at its significance

and level," President Francois Mitterrand told a joint press conference in Chateau de Rambouillet.

Mitterrand stressed that the two countries had not signed such a document for about ten years.

The French president briefed journalists on Soviet-French documents, signed during the visit, concerning ways to expand bilateral cooperation. He said the talks with the Soviet president mainly focused on European development, preparations for the European summit and the Gulf crisis.

Gorbachev noted that during his talks with President Mitterrand they discussed mainly current problems and global changes.

Speaking of the role of the Soviet-French dialogue in world politics, the Soviet president noted that the Soviet-French "factor has always had original significance". Today, the "Soviet-French factor will play an important role in European and world politics," he said.

Gorbachev poitned to the "great degree of mutual understanding" between him and Mitterrand during the discussion of the Gulf crisis.

He said the sides had reiterated their adherence to the international community's "unity in the face of Iraq's aggression" and expressed their desire to closely cooperate in order to settle the conflict "on the basis of principled approaches formulated by the U.N. Security Council".

The Soviet president said the regime of Iraqi President Saddam Husayn should not be given "even the slightest pretext to hope for discord in the international community and for a weakening of its positions on Iraq's aggression". He described such hopes as a "delusion".

Gorbachev emphasised that the international community "cannot accept a military solution" of the Gulf problem. He called for "stage-by-stage measures to prompt Iraqi leaders to understand that they are acting against common sense and threatening the whole world, including their own people".

Gorbachev described the Iraqi leadership's actions as "adventuristic".

Gorbachev Departs 29 Oct

LD2910170490 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] Paris October 29 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev has left Paris for home. At Orly Airport he was seen off by President Francois Mitterrand, French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas and other officials.

During Gorbachev's visit, a Treaty of Concord and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and France was signed as were some other documents envisaging the further strengthening of bilateral cooperation in the economic, scientific, technological and educational fields.

Shevardnadze, French Counterpart Sign Agreements

LD2810224390 Moscow TASS in English 2140 GMT 28 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Krivykh and Valeriy Shashkov]

[Text] Paris October 29 TASS—The Soviet Union and France signed several bilateral documents on Sunday.

The signing ceremony was attended by Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and his French counterpart Roland Dumas.

President Gorbachev's visit and the signing of Franco-Soviet documents are within the framework of numerous fruitful exchanges between the two countries, Dumas said at the ceremony.

Soviet-French relations in recent years have improved and have now entered a new historic period characterised by growing trust and friendship, he said.

The new documents are in line with this spirit and continue traditional friendly ties between France and the Soviet Union, he said.

The new agreements are of great importance for the development of Soviet-French cooperation, Shevardnadze said.

The two countries have a unique relationship and this is reflected in the new agreements, he said.

"Our cooperation is an important factor of stability in Europe and the world" Shevardnadze said.

Reportage on Gorbachev's Visit to Spain

WA2910175290

For Spanish reportage on the visit by Gorbachev to Spain, including reports on his talks with Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez and other officials, as well as Eduard Shevardnadze's talks with Spanish Foreign Minister Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, please see the SPAIN section of the 29 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Reportage on Gorbachev's Visit to France

WA2910173990

For French reportage on the visit by President Gorbachev to France, including reports on his talks with President Francois Mitterrand regarding the Gulf crisis and requests for financial assistance, as well as Eduard Shevardnadze's talks with Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, please see the FRANCE section of the 29 October West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Latin America & Caribbean

Argentina's Menem Meets Gorbachev, Ends Visit

PRAVDA on Gorbachev-Menem Talks

PM2810185790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting Between M.S. Gorbachev and C. Menem"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev had an important, interesting, and very promising conversation with Argentine President Carlos Menem 25 October in the Kremlin. The interlocutors were meeting for the first time but found a common language without difficulty.

In setting the task of implementing perestroyka, C. Menem said, you in the Soviet Union rocked the foundations of the old world. Your achievements in deepening freedom, which you owe to the comprehensive development of democracy, merit respect. Of course, it is more difficult to put into effect economic reform. But we know from experience that it is better to suffer once but create a lasting foundation for well-being. You can count on Argentina to be your friend, President Menem said.

Argentina is currently experiencing perestroyka of its own, C. Menem continued. He described its basic avenues. M.S. Gorbachev wished the Argentine leadership success in implementing the urgent transformations.

The presidents naturally exchanged opinions on the world situation. The changes in the world are profound and must grow, M.S. Gorbachev pointed out. Mankind has set out on the road to lasting peace. The shift in Soviet-U.S. relations has played a great role here. Nothing would have happened without it. But we must now go further. The process of globalizing security and extending it to Latin America, Africa and, of course, the Asia-Pacific region is on the agenda. The experience of Europe, which has managed to overcome East-West confrontation, can play a positive role in the quest for new solutions that match conditions in other regions. We are directing our efforts toward this.

C. Menem noted in turn that the incipient disarmament process and the end of the "cold war" are changing peoples' thinking. I do not agree, the president said, with dividing the world into First, Second, and Third Worlds. I support the ideas of the new thinking—that the world is unified. Of course, people are different everywhere. They belong to different nationalities, religions, and ideologies, but they are all human beings. The new world order that is being established should serve man.

The interlocutors were unanimous that the United Nations is now playing a tremendous and ever increasing role. M.S Gorbachev noted that although this organization was unable to exploit its potential for 40 years, it now has an opportunity to reveal its potential. There have been more and more elements of accord lately in the work of the United Nations. This was manifested, for instance, in the unanimous condemnation of Iraq's aggressive actions. The new thinking is being tested and is passing the test successfully.

The question of the situation in Latin America was broached. In C. Menem's view, the situation on the continent is a difficult one, but the path it has taken of democratization and deepening integration processes within the economy is the right one. M.S Gorbachev agreed that the continent is now taking a new path. Our relations with Latin America are good, we value them highly, and will develop them, he said.

Both sides voiced a firm desire to broaden and deepen the comprehensive ties between the USSR and Argentina. There are opportunities for this on hand and they will be used.

M.S. Gorbachev and C. Menem agreed to continue contacts both through personal meetings and other means. They both assessed their dialogue as mutually beneficial.

The following were present during the conversation: on the Argentine side—D. Cavallo, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Worship; G. de Prat Gay, Argentine ambassador to the USSR; and H. Toledo, presidential secretary; on the Soviet side—E.A. Shevardnadze, Foreign Minister; V.V. Nikitin, USSR ambassador to Argentina; and V.V. Zagladin, presidential adviser.

Argentine Agency on Talks

PY2710110090 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1020 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Oct (NA special envoy)—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev laughed as he told Argentine President Carlos Menem that Menem has his own perestroyka, to which Menem said: "Yes, I know; they call it Menemtroyka."

Menem and Gorbachev yesterday talked about several subjects for more than an hour and a half, in the Ekaterinskiy Hall of the Grand Kremlin Palace, accompanied by Foreign Ministers Domingo Cavallo and Eduard Shevardnadze.

Gorbachev, who received Menem in the luxurious hall decorated in white, yellow, and pastel colors, opened fire by saying: "When I was young I had the impression that Latin America was the backyard of the United States;" however, Latin America "is currently undergoing a great transformation, and its leaders are more responsible."

According to a high-ranking Argentine official, during the meeting Gorbachev said that he "was very happy to talk with a great Latin American representative."

The Kremlin chief immediately told Menem: "You have your own perestroyka," after which he added that "Europe and Latin America are heading toward new objectives, and their democracies are being consolidated through political and economic restructuring."

The Argentine official said that Gorbachev sustained that "the old beliefs of imperialism are no longer valid" and that "the arms race has drained the resources of the USSR and the United States."

"The new times have suddenly slowed this arms race, and now the economies of the two countries may be strengthened," Gorbachev said meaning the USSR and the United States.

Following the Soviet leader's brief remarks, Menem spoke, saying that he is "in favor of a new international order." Menem recalled that "many political tests were carried out, both in Europe and Latin America, and Argentina fell to 84th place from the seventh place it held half a century ago."

When Menem made this statement, Gorbachev took a pen and wrote something in a notebook on the cover of which was written Moscow in large letters.

Menem then explained Argentine economic problems and took the opportunity to say that "the United States must also adjust its public accounts."

"President George Bush has looked at Latin America with his proposal for a free trade zone," the Argentine president said. He added: "We are part of the same world, and we must protect the dignity of man by creating a new legal system."

During his talk with Gorbachev, Menem said: "The United Nations is currently humanity's insurance," after which he changed subject to say that he received the Argentine administration "in a serious situation."

Menem considered separating a [words indistinct] state as "fundamental," and he added that for that reason he decided to impose the "popular market economy formula." This remark got Gorbachev's attention, and Gorbachev again wrote something down in his notebook.

Following these remarks, Gorbachev interrupted Menem and said: "How curious, what a coincidence," to which Menem responded that his proposal "is called Menemtroyka in Argentina and in some countries of the American Continent."

Cooperation Documents Signed

PM2610151690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Signing of Soviet-Argentine Documents"]

[Text] USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and Argentine President C.S. Menem signed a "Declaration on the Principles of Soviet-Argentine Cooperation" 25 October in the Grand Kremlin Palace.

Other Soviet-Argentine documents were then signed. E.A. Shevardnadze, USSR foreign minister, and D. Cavallo, Argentina minister of foreign affairs and worship, signed intergovernmental agreements on cooperation in the peaceful use of atomic energy, in the exploration and use of space for peaceful purposes, and in the fight against the abuse, illegal production, and trafficking of drugs and psychotropic substances.

The following took part in the signing ceremony:

on the Soviet side—A.I. Lukyanov, USSR Supreme Soviet chairman; V.V. Bakatin, USSR internal affairs minister; V.F. Konovalov, USSR minister of nuclear power generation and the nuclear industry; V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister; V.V. Nikitin, USSR ambassador to Argentina; V.D. Nikolayenko, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Latin American Department; and other officials;

on the Argentine side—Gaston de Prat Gay, Argentine ambassador to the USSR; Jose Julia, chief of the Air Force Main Staff; Humberto Toledo, the president's press secretary; Gustavo Veliz, secretary for state service affairs; M. Mondino, chairman of the National Atomic Energy Commission; Senator Carlos Snopek [name as transliterated]; Humberto Rogero, member of the Chamber of Deputies; Jorge Pereira de Olazabal, deputy minister of the economy for trade and industry; N. Garcia Pinto, director of the Argentine Foreign Ministry Central and Eastern Europe Department; and other officials accompanying the president on his trip.

On the same day USSR President M.S. Gorbachev organized a lunch in honor of Argentine President C.S. Menem.

In the evening the Argentine president left Moscow for Leningrad. The guest was seen off at the airfield, which was adorned with the Argentine and USSR state flags, by E.A. Shevardnadze and other officials.

Joint Declaration Summarized

PM2710142290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Unattributed report: "Soviet-Argentine Declaration Adopted"]

[Text] C.S. Menem, president of the Argentine Republic, was in the Soviet Union on a visit 24-26 October 1990 at the invitation of USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

At the end of the visit M.S. Gorbachev and C.S. Menem, on behalf of their states, signed a "Declaration on Principles of Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and Argentina," which we summarize below.

The presidents discussed various aspects of the present international situation and analyzed the evolution of the political and economic processes taking place in the USSR and Argentina. Here they expressed satisfaction with the climate of mutual understanding that pervades the development of bilateral relations, and also the mutual will to extend these relations in all areas.

The presidents declare that their countries will proceed from the following fundamental tenets in foreign policy and in their bilateral relations.

In the Political Sphere

—Respect for the aims and principles contained in the UN Charter.

—Active participation in the formation of an international order based on respect for justice, the exclusion of violence and intimidation [ustrasheniye], the elimination of inequality and oppression, and observance of the principle of noninterference in other states' affairs.

—Respect for the right of all peoples to choose their own path of political and socioeconomic development on the basis of observance of the norms of international law.

—Exclusion of the threat or use of force in international relations and of the attempt to ensure one's own security at the expense of other states. All international disputes, and also regional conflicts, should be resolved by peaceful means on the basis of political accords in accordance with the UN Charter.

—A policy based on nuclear deterrence is immoral and incompatible with the ideals of the civilized world. Relations between the states forming the international community should be based on mutual trust. Disarmament, first and foremost nuclear, is imperative for mankind's physical survival.

The sides note the positive character of the political situation in Latin America, where the strengthening of democracy and constitutional stability and also the improvement in regional consultative mechanisms have made it possible to ensure respect for freedom, tolerance, and political pluralism.

—The sides reaffirm their intention to use all available mechanisms of bilateral cooperation.

In the Economic Sphere

—Proceeding on the basis that bilateral trade and economic relations are an important component of the world economic system and their development helps to increase the prosperity of both countries' peoples, the USSR and Argentina regard the following as priorities:

identifying spheres of mutual interest with a view to the expansion of trade and economic cooperation and scientific and technical development;

creating a favorable organizational and legal basis for the development of trade; stimulating investments; and setting up joint enterprises, including enterprises in third countries, with the participation of state and private capital, with a view to carrying out projects in such sectors as machine building, municipal services, transportation, communications, the power industry, light and food industry, agriculture, the oil and gas industry, petrochemicals, geology, the mining industry, the modernization and deepening of ports, fishing, and others;

stimulating scientific and technical cooperation with a view to the implementation of joint research programs in such spheres as the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, the peaceful exploitation of space, electronics, information science, bioengineering, genetics, the creation of new materials, and others.

To this end the sides signed an "Agreement Between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the Argentine Republic on Cooperation in the Sphere of the Peaceful Utilization of Atomic Energy" and an "Agreement Between the USSR and the Government of the Argentine Republic on Cooperation in the Sphere of the Exploration and Exploitation of Space for Peaceful Purposes."

The sides declare the intention to promote the growth of bilateral trade turnover by means of identifying new forms of cooperation and expanding and diversifying trade exchange.

In the Ecological Sphere

—The progressive deterioration in the condition of the environment in the world imposes a duty to step up efforts to change the existing situation at national, regional, and global levels with respect for international legal norms in this sphere.

—To achieve the aforesaid aim it is necessary to strengthen bilateral cooperation through the exchange of information, the transfer of scientific and technical knowledge, and mutual consultations.

In the Legal, Cultural, and Humanitarian Spheres

—The sides will develop the exchange of ideas and information which, as vehicles of spiritual and cultural values, will promote the expansion of relations of friendship, respect, and trust.

—The sides declare their determination to cooperate energetically in resolving the problems of international trerrorism, organized crime, and the illegal drugs trade.

To this end they signed an "Agreement Between the Government of the USSR and the Government of the Argentine Republic on Cooperation in the Struggle Against the Abuse of Drugs and Psychotropic Substances and Their Unlawful Production and Circulation."

The sides also pledge to give each other aid in natural disasters.

TASS on Declaration

LD2610163290 Moscow TASS in English 1513 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev and President Carlos Saul Menem of Argentina who is staying in the Soviet Union on a working visit signed in

the Kremlin on Thursday a declaration on principles of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Argentina.

In the declaration, the two heads of state expressed satisfaction with the climate of mutual understanding in bilateral relations and their mutual wish to expand them in all areas.

The presidents stated their determination to work to establish a just and democratic world order based on human values.

They declared their commitment to do everything possible for the United Nations Organisation, which is the major international centre, to play a more effective role in maintaining peace, enhancing international collective security and developing cooperation between all nations.

The sides reaffirmed their belief that all international disputes and regional conflicts should be settled by peaceful means on the basis of political accords. In this regard, the Soviet Union expressed satisfaction with the restoration of diplomatic relations between Argentina, Britain and Northern Ireland.

The normalisation and the switch to a dialogue between these countries will facilitate the resumption of the talks that will lead to a peaceful settlement of the dispute over the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands.

The declaration emphasises the global importance of building new structures of European security, which are undoubtedly a positive example for other regions of the world.

The USSR and Argentina deem it necessary that the conventional armaments race be scaled down, military spending be cut down to reasonable sufficiency, and illicit trade in arms put under control and military production conversion accelerated.

As regards economic issues, the sides are unanimous that changes occurring in the USSR, its efforts to incorporate its economy into the world economic system, including to join international trade, monetary and financial organisations, are an important contribution to efforts to stabilise the international economic system.

The USSR and Argentina declared for the need to elaborate a programme to achieve a final solution to the foreign debt problem.

In the field of bilateral relations, the sides declared their intention to contribute towards an increase in trade turnover and forge cooperation in other areas.

The Soviet Union and Argentina stated their determination to pursue collaborative efforts in solving problems of international terrorism, organised crime and illegal narcotics trafficking. To this end, they signed a respective agreement.

Spokesman Says Visit 'Eventful'

LD2610142290 Moscow TASS in English 1307 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS diplomatic correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Leonid Timofeev]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Argentine President Carlos Menem's visit to the Soviet Union was very eventful in political and practical terms, deputy head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Latin American Department Herman Shlyapnikov told reporters today.

Menem visited the Soviet Union from October 24 to 26.

Shlyapnikov praised the sides' openness, dialogue and readiness to reach concrete agreements.

"Meetings with Carlos Menem, and I would want specifically to single out his talk with Mikhail Gorbachev, were friendly and easy-going exchanges," he said.

The meeting between the two presidents opened a new stage in the Soviet-Argentine high-level dialogue on a wide range of bilateral and international issues.

The sides reiterated their adherence to promoting a just and democratic world order, he said.

The two leaders had an in-depth discussion about social and democratic reforms in their countries, offering to expand trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation.

Commenting on the two leaders' signing of the "Declaration on Principles of Cooperation Between the Soviet Union and Argentina", the diplomat said that in terms of scope and multifacetedness, the document transcended the framework of bilateral relations. It expresses the sides' common view of global renewal processes, based on the people's desire for comprehensive security, cooperation, and common human values, he said.

Menem's visit revealed a joint striving to expand relations between the Soviet Union and Argentina on the basis of equality, mutual benefit, freedom of choice and noninterference.

"Its results are viewed in the Soviet Union as a concrete manifestation of increased bilateral interest to expand cooperation between our countries," the Foreign Ministry spokesman said.

"The dynamics of our relations with Argentina are convincing testimony of the long-term Soviet policy towards expanding multifarious ties with Latin America," Shlyapnikov said.

Departs From Leningrad

LD2610163590 Moscow TASS in English 1526 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Leningrad October 26 TASS—The Soviet visit by President Carlos Saul Menem of Argentina rounded off with a trip to Leningrad. He departed from the Soviet Union today.

Menem Hails 'Remarkable' Meeting With Gorbachev

LD2810105390 Moscow TASS in English 0736 GMT 28 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Alekseyev]

[Text] Buenos Aires October 28 TASS—President Carlos Menem of Argentina highly assessed his recent visit to the Soviet Union.

Addressing a news conference here on Saturday after his visit to a number of European countries, including the Soviet Union, Poland and the Vatican, Menem said the visit was very fruitful and bolstered Argentina's international prestige. For a long time, Argentina had not enjoyed authority, confidence and recognition. The situation has completely changed, Menem said. He said his meetings with President Mikhail Gorbachev and other Soviet leaders were "remarkable".

Menem said he was satisfied with the signing of the declaration on the principles of cooperation between the two countries and a number of bilateral agreements. The president noted that his government's aims fully coincided with the process of changes in the Soviet Union and East European countries.

Supreme Soviet

Lukyanov Chairs Supreme Soviet Presidium Session

LD2610222290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Comrade Lukyanov chaired a meeting of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in the Kremlin today.

Comrade Kucherenko, chairman of the Planning, Budget, and Finance Commission of the Soviet of the Union, read a report on organizing work connected with the preliminary examination in the Supreme Soviet committees and the standing commissions of its chambers of the draft state plan for economic and social development of the USSR and the draft Union budget for 1991.

The rules of deputies' ethics submitted by Comrade Denisov, chairman of the ethics commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, were discussed in detail and approved on the whole at the meeting.

In connection with the coming Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies the Supreme Soviet Presidium examined a number of issues concerning the preparation of the congress, including the renewal of the membership of the country's top legislative body as stipulated by the USSR Constitution. The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium confirmed a statute on assistants of the USSR people's deputies and also discussed certain other matters concerning the work of the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies and the implementation of its decisions and instructions.

Deputies Discuss Preparations for Winter 29 Oct

LD2910082190 Moscow TASS in English 0813 GMT 29 Oct 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondents Ivan Ivanov, Vladimir Isachenkov and Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow October 29 TASS—At a joint session of the parliamentary chambers today the USSR Supreme Soviet began considering preparations for winter.

This item has been put on the agenda of the autumn session of parliament because of a number of factors—a slump in production, the scarcity of goods, threats of strikes in the coal industry, problems in the harvesting and storage of crops—may greatly aggravate the country's economic situation during the approaching winter.

Today deputies will also consider setting up a new parliamentary body—a commission on the procedure for work by top legislative bodies of state power in the Soviet Union.

The morning session began with a brief report by Valentin Vologzhin, chairman of the parliamentary committee for economic reform issues. The committee had been instructed to additionally elaborate the text of "Basic Guidelines for the Stabilisation of the Economy and Transition to Market Economics". After the deputies' remarks were taken into consideration, the document was published in the press, Vologzhin said.

At the afternoon session (during a closed-door portion of it) the parliamentarians will consider matters connected with the recent nuclear test, with a yield of up to 150 kilotons, carried out at the Soviet test site in the area of Novaya Zemlya, Anatoly Lukyanov, who is presiding over the session, announced.

Political & Social

Reports Continue on Central Trade Union Congress

Ryzhkov Responds to Questions

LD2710204590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1915 GMT 26 Oct 90

["In the USSR Government" program from the 19th All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions, AUCCTU, Congress in Moscow on 26 October, presented by unidentified announcer with remarks by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov, USSR minister of finance; and Vladimir Shcherbakov, chairman of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Today Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, together with Pavlov, the USSR minister of finance, and Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, spoke at the 19th trade union congress [AUCCTU] with answers to delegates' questions. In particular they said:

[Ryzhkov] The essence of the question is: Is the switch to a market economy the only way out of the situation, and if it is the only way, then why are we taking such a long time to go toward the market?

Comrades, we have been heading toward the market for two years. We began the switch to new economic relations, to a new economic model, in 1988. Before that, you know, there were theoretical investigations, and we were carrying out experiments together; finally, when we ammassed a certain amount of experience, we began in 1988 to gradually switch branches of the economy to new principles. In 1988, 50 percent of industry was switched to the new principles, and the remainder in 1989. And in 1990 we, as they say, have been bringing in all the remaining branches of the economy. For this reason I think that two years to develop the new mechanisms on which we have embarked is not such a long time.

We have lived our whole lives in one system. We have lived through 60 and more years. It is a rigid planning and distributive system. It was suitable and it brought benefits when it was necessary to concentrate the state's efforts on certain decisions. There was the prewar

period, when it was necessary to industrialize and to squeeze all the resources, so to speak, into one basket. There was the war, and the postwar resurrection of the economy. But gradually we see that this system of rigid plan and distribution worked less and less. For this reason, you know, there were reforms in 1965; they, as they say, collapsed. At the end of the 1970's we began to return once more to this problem, and again in 1985-86 we began to very seriously think about what system we needed to switch to. So that was the preparatory work.

This year, in May, we came out with the concept of switching to market relations. Maybe we are all frightened by the word market, because our form of association is completely different; we are speaking about market relations. You know that we came out with the concept, then the program developed, and a government program appeared under the leadership of Academician Shatalin.

Finally today, or rather a few days ago, the Supreme Soviet adopted a decision on and confirmed the Basic Guidelines for the switch to market relations. This document has already been introduced in the name of all by the president of our country.

Today, the task now facing us, comrades, is that we must implement that program, because the basic guidelines have been approved. In our opinion, they provide an opportunity to behave very flexibly in this case, both to Union republics—that is to say, none of the economic tenets are very strict or very rigid—and to the sectors of the national economy, too. Therefore, the task today is to practice a market economy.

Whether we go over to the market in the course of 100 days or 400 days or 500 days I am convinced is not a realistic matter. It is a very complex process and it cannot be counted in days.

We consider that next year we will take just the first step of the transition to a market, the first step, when the state will still regulate a great deal of certain economic relations. At the same time, we must begin to develop market relations, that is to say, mutual relations horizontally, and so forth.

How many years will it take? I think quite a few. Maybe five, maybe eight years, until we have finally elaborated all market relations and the national economy goes over to a market system. Cadres are not prepared; the infrastructure is not prepared; neither are all kinds of stock exchanges, and so on. Therefore, we are taking a very serious step for next year. And we must seriously prepare for it. Well, the task consists precisely in us carrying out that work in the next month, in two months, or in a month and a half.

It is a complex situation. The conclusion of agreements is proceeding with great difficulty. There are many unresolved questions. And we, every day since, well, the approval of the main directions, the government every day is making certain decisions which, as they say, will guarantee the regulation of our economic relations for next year.

That is as far as the market is concerned.

Comrade Filimonov asks whether it is not possible first to adopt laws aimed at the social protection of the population, on employment, the indexation of incomes, and then implement the program of the transition to a market.

Well, on the whole, it would of course be a good thing to decide, first of all, questions of social protection and then to carry out certain actions for the transition to a market. But the fact of the matter is that these questions are interlinked. They cannot be decided separately. I can tell you citing one example why we cannot: let us say, to start with that we adopt some law or decision, for instance on compensation, indexation, and then begin to adopt some other decisions.

The question of indexation and compensation was raised in quite a serious manner at this congress. There are two types of approach to price-setting reform. As far as wholesale prices are concerned, well, I understand many notes were received. Many comrades write that prices must be increased, let us say for copper, for some other products or increases for some kinds of production-type goods. These are individual questions. Well, we have adopted a decision now on wholesale prices. We will be increasing all wholesale prices, and roughly 40 percent of wholesale prices will be allowed to float freely. In other words, the increases will be greater than in the case of those prices which we have allocated to enterprises. But they will be limited by a certain level of profitability. And when comrades say that the level of profitability acts against scientific and technical progress, I agree.

However, I agree that that is only a part. If we do not limit the level of profitability for monopolistic enterprises, they will set such prices that we will not be able to halt. Because one person will be able to dictate any prices. He is the only producer in the country, so why should he not, let us say, raise prises by two or three times. There is no getting away from it—you will pay. Therefore, as for wholesale prices, things are more or less clear, here. As for producer prices, we have circulated information about them among our agricultural industries. We consider that the main producer prices are a basis for running the economy next year.

The question of retail prices: This is really where there are clashes about what decisions are to be made for the social protection of the people. If the government's proposals are to be adopted—and we have been very strongly and highly criticized and abused throughout the whole country for this; When we in May honestly told the people that we, when it became a matter of retail prices, that we would certainly tell you. Well, we told you in May and the criticism rained down on us. Well, should we not have said anything at all then in May? Should we have avoided it again, somehow passed over

the details? We could not; we had to say it honestly at some point and we did so. After all, you thought, all that cannot be just taken out of the air, it is all interconnected—wholesale prices, purchase prices in agriculture, and retail prices. We said let us raise prices, especially on foodstuffs, and set them, set them. Let us not let them rise further. That is the government's version.

You know the other options that have been proposed. They looked very nice on the surface. We are against a government option, as it were, which uses administrative methods to increase prices; we are against this. But the other part of the matter, namely, that they are in favor of free prices—free prices—is being passed over in silence. We are asking how far will these prices rise. At present we are, for example, regulating meat, milk, butter, and sugar prices. And if tomorrow you are to let prices float freely, how far will prices rise then? With a shrug of the shoulders we are told: We do not know. So, I said: When it is a matter of giving advice, one is allowed to say that one does not know, but when it comes to making decisons one really has to know. So, the question still stands:

If the government's proposals, under which the prices, especially food prices, have to be increased—and I repeat this stipulation—are accepted, compensation equal to the increases will have to be given. This is one approach, as set out in the corresponding document.

If prices are allowed to float freely, if they are allowed to rise of their own accord, then it is indexation not compensation that we will need. As time passes we will have to see how far prices have increased. I will tell you what I think. I know that many people do not agree with me. But I do not believe that food prices should be allowed to float freely next year under any circumstances. This should not be allowed. Otherwise they may increase as they have done in Poland, as they have increased in Yugoslavia, rather than by a mere 10 or 15 percent.

So a decision must be made. If we introduce fixed prices then increases will be compensated. If we allow prices to float freely then a completely different mechanism—indexation—will have to be found. Incidentally, in our country the mechanism of indexation has not yet been fully worked out.

I spoke before you saying that the trade unions and we will still have to define the consumer basket. After all it involves a whole network. We have never done this before. Therefore, without wanting to dwell on other issues of social security—we have adopted quite a lot of decisions on this already since May and June. We have adopted a decision on aid to families with many children. So a whole number of decisions have already been adopted. But a number of decisions will still have to be made once we have finally settled on one option or the other. That is far as social protection, as they say, is concerned.

In the agro-industrial complex. Yesterday I met workers of the agro-industrial complex and I have to say that the conversation was very interesting, at least for me. They talked alot, but that does not mean that they said the wrong things. They said the right things and very serious conclusions have to be drawn.

Question: When will the USSR Council of Ministers seriously tackle the problem of the Non-Chernozem Zone roads? Today it is seriously in a rut. Comrade Shemyakinskiy from the Vologoda Oblast asks this question.

What I want to say is that evidently there is some marking of time. But at the same time this is a vital program and our task is to fulfill the program at all costs. How does what is actually happening compare with what we planned? The Council of Ministers adopted a decision in 1988. It was to run for seven years. A total of 170-200,000 km of roads in 29 oblasts were to be built. Of these, 110-130,000 km were to be within farms. The intention was that in order to fulfill the program it was necessary to spend—according to different estimates—in one case 32 billion rubles [R], and in another case R36 billion. That is what the Non-Chernozem Zone program is.

What have we done in two years? We were to bring in 26,000 km. In reality we brought in 28,500—that is, we even went above the target. This year it is proposed to bring in 18,500 km of roads. In the first nine months we have fulfilled our target by 118 percent and have already brought in 10,500. I realize that there were years when things were evidently only getting going. But the task now—and I was examining this matter last night—is that this program must at all costs be provided with material resources for next year. And we stipulated yesterday that irrespective of financing, whether the financing will come from the republican budget, the local budget, or collective and state farms, we must provide the material resources. We are making provision for these material resources with special-purpose allocations earmarked for this program.

What does the government intend to do to regulate the migration of labor abroad involving Soviet citizens following the adoption of the law on the procedure for emigrating from the Soviet Union? What can be said to this question comrades? I think there are many reasons but two stand out. I will give you some figures and you reflect on them and ask yourselves why all this is happening. Here are the figures for permanent emigration, that is, people who left the Soviet Union, and did not return: 1986—4,000: well, perhaps the laws were very strict and people had plenty to contend with before they managed to get out; 1987—29,000; 1988—75,000; and note well, 1989—235,000; and the estimate for 1990—the year is not over yet—is about 500,000.

Thus we must seriously reflect on what is happening and why people are leaving the country. I believe that people are afraid of the political instability in this country.

People are just afraid. And we must do everything we can to make people stop fearing the future and enable people to be certain of today and tomorrow.

I would put this first. And it is not because I am speaking to you now but because I have taken an interest in research on this. People put the social and material aspects second. They put political instability and uncertainty first. And third, many of our intellectuals are leaving. We must on no account permit this. We must create the conditions for our best scientists to be able to live and work normally in our country. A hunt, literally, is on today for our young, promising, and talented scientists. And the task the state faces is to create the conditions in which they can live and work in our country.

[Pavlov] The question sent in by Comrade Nalimov contains the essence of a great many questions. He formulates it approximately this way: Are tax benefits envisaged for enterprises and orgnizations that invest resources in the development of culture? Yes, they are envisaged under Article 6 of the Law on Taxation, Clause D, which says that taxable profits, assessed in accordance with Article 2 of the above law, are reduced by the sum transferred to enterprises, institutions, and organizations of culture, people's education, health care, social provision, physical Culture, and sports.

There is a proposal formulated by Comrade Yurkov and some other comrades on, well, privileged taxation of various social funds not among the list of such funds as the Lenin Fund, Peace Fund, Culture Fund, Charity Fund, and so on. Well, in particular it is a question of the social fund for protection against unemployment. But well it was not encompassed by this law and could not be encompassed by it simply because essentially when the law was prepared and adopted such a fund did not exist. Therefore this question deserves attention and, in elaborating the fundamentals of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republic legislation and of the Union republics on employment, I think that we examine this question in a positive light.

There are questions related to the problem connected with our general currency situation. In particular, such a question as that was asked by Comrade Verevkin. It is a question of whether it is true that as of 1991 the government is renouncing the allocation of centralized hard currency resources for the organization of tourist trips abroad.

Well, I have to say quite openly that our foreign currency situation today is exceptionally complex. But I have been working in the financial sphere for almost a quarter of a century, and I have to say to you that I do not recall such a foreign currency situation as the country is in now. And a highly acute problem exists in our country today regarding how to pay for the foodstuffs and the medicines the country needs badly. Well, in particular, I can say that even despite the harvest which we believe to be exceptionally good, of say, cereals—237 million tonnes this year—nevertheless, representatives of our agro-industrial complex insist that we cannot live through next year—until the new harvest—unless we buy over 30 million tonnes of grain abroad. I am not even mentioning any other questions, so to speak.

Yet at the same time, the time has come when we are forced to start paying off our old debts. The time has come to make repayments. Therefore, after all, loans are given for a term and one has to pay them back once and for all. And today we have to pay back. Therefore, we are not only experiencing difficulties connected wikth the drop in our production as a whole, and above all, of our foreign currency resources. The extraction of oil, one of our main foreign currency resources, has fallen sharply. Yet, at the same time, next year, the size of the repayments of loans which were granted to us previously by Western countries will almost double.

Therefore, today we are forced to economize on everything, including on what we call nonprimary outgoings. We can recommend in this regard exchanges not involving foreign currency. We can recommend: earnning by conducting tourist activity on a commercial basis, that is, not just to spend, but also to receive from foreign tourists. Therefore, I have to say in all frankness that one should not reckon on being able to keep the resources which we set aside previously for officially sponsored travel passes.

[Ryzhkov] I will answer another question. I know that many obviously are awaiting a reply to it. It is the question on monetary reform. There have been speeches at the congress and I understand that obviously you are waiting for the government's position. Obviously, well, many will be disappointed by my answer. I adhere to my old positions and not because—once, six months ago, or a year ago, I stated somewhere that I was against monetary reform and therefore, as they say, I am carrying out my policy. I simply am convinced, convinced that this must not be done, must not be done. As they say, we analyzed this question. We studied it thoroughly. What finally—well, let us think before doing something serious in the country, let us think what we are achieving by this.

Take the structure of our people's savings. Eighty percent of the deposits, I stress, 80 percent are R2,500 at most. If all the deposits are taken, and there are around 200 million in our country, obviously it works out to about two books per person, well, per adult. The average deposit per person works out to R1,500. Can we say that these are rich people who are keeping their money in savings books, R1,500.

Just a moment please. Just wait, take it easy!

That is the first thing. Therefore, to say that there are huge deposits in savings books in our country, I have already spoken of that to you. Now I understand the aim followed by comrades who propose monetary reform. In order to, as they say, reveal the money of those in the shadow economy. Yes, I know that perfectly well. I have heard all of that on more than one occasion. But let us

talk realistically. Do you think that these people are simple-minded, that they keep money in savings books? Nothing of the kind! This money is either in gold, or in diamonds, or in well, some other kind of goods. So if we intend to bring pressure on those who deal in the shadow economy then other ways must be found.

I think that if we take this path in the end people who really have earned money by their labor, the same miners, metallurgists, particularly those working in Siberia who have earned R20,000-R30,000... Well, in the winter I was in Vorkuta and asked miners how they felt about monetary reform. Well they say you will rob us and that is all there is to it. I, they say, have been working here for ten years. I have earned the money to buy a house, to buy a car, and you are taking that money from me. That is the first thing.

And the second thing. Comrades, let us take a realistic look. To implement monetary reform, a minimum, a minimum of two years' preparations is required, according to our calculations. The FRG intends, I think—they are doing something there—simply to change money in the FRG. They intend to prepare for five years for that. Well then in this period of glasnost, when we no longer hide anything from each other, over two years, while we are printing money—and, God forbid what expenditures this will entail—several billions of rubles will go to this alone. We will totally destroy everything in the country. For that reason, comrades, I think that monetary reform is not a way out of the situation, not a solution.

[Shcherbakov] A major question is the question of how wages will be constructed in the future when the law is brought in. Well we proceed from the premise that Nikolay Ivanovich has already raised in his speech, that the state will continue to regulate the labor payment fund. The regulation of individual wages is the affair of the results of labor and of the enterprise itself. Therefore as of 1 January 1991 obviously we will continue to discuss that system. There are still some fine points there.

But what is outlined? Well today wage rates in the industrial sphere, according to the decision are 11 or 15 [percent]. They will have to be regarded as the minimum guarantee of the state, below which no payment can be made. Within the limits of earned money you may increase the whole amount you have according to the results of collective talks. All of that (?is a sliding scale) [words indistinct] as much money as you have. But we will control money strictly. That is quite natural.

There is a great deal here. I will not depart immediately from the question of how things will be as far as increments, the value of an hourly rate, and so on are concerned. Everything else takes shape from that ideology. Freedom is the regulation of collectives... inside the collective and strict limitation in the payment fund. There is no other way to get away from inflation and arouse incentives. But I am told to finish and I am forced to.

[Unidentified voice off-camera] Well, probably, therefore, we thank the government for the questions and answers. Thank you. [applause]

[Ryzhkov] Thank you.

Further on Ryzhkov's Comments

LD2610211990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov received over 200 questions during the 19th Trade Union Congress. Today, as promised, the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers answered these questions. We have included some of these replies in our bulletin:

[Begin Ryzhkov recording] [passage omitted] There are questions about labor. What steps will be taken by the government to improve safeguards for the country's workforce? Let us agree on the following: Our policy, the policy of the state, will be very hardline. Our position on this question will be a hardline one. We will take another look at what needs to be done. Maybe we will have to introduce certain special principles. If, for example, money is not being spent on protecting the work force, then at the end of the day provision will either have to be made for it in the budget, or—as they say—money will have to be used in order to safeguard the workforce. We know that certain countries do it this way in order to create the best possible conditions for channeling funds toward improving the welfare of working people.

As far as work safety inspectorates are concerned, my own view is that work safety inspectorates should be run by the trade unions themselves. You must protect the interests of working people. [applause]

The next question is a topical one; I know that it worries many republics. What steps is the Soviet Government taking to resolve the problems of refugees? My position on this question is a firm one. These days the government is constantly being asked to draft a law on refugees. I think this is the wrong way to approach the question. Do we really now have to have laws to protect refugees? What we need are laws which prevent such a phenonemon as refugees from becoming a problem in the first place. [applause] After all, it is said that we have 140 nations and ethnic groups in our country. If we tolerate political instability which forces some ethnic groups to flee from others, nothing will save us. No law will save us. It will not save us. Therefore, the first thing we have to tackle is these questions. But the reality in our country is such that at the moment we have 600,000 refugees. Our task is to try to avoid recreating the situation which we are now experiencing. As regards the people who have already suffered this misfortune, we have adopted decisions, and our task, the specific job we have to do, is to draw attention to these decisions. [end recording]

Congress Enters Final Day 27 Oct

LD2710091390 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The congress of Soviet trade unions, which is in session in the Kremlin for the fifth day, should complete the formation of the organisational structures of the country's new trade union centre—the General Confederation of the USSR Trade Unions.

On Friday, the congress adopted a declaration, which points out that the new trade union centre aims to consolidate trade unions and coordinate their actions in implementing and protecting the Soviet people's socio-economic and cultural rights. One of the federation's fundamental principles is its independence from state and economic management bodies, political and social structures.

All-Union, regional and sectoral trade union associations may join the confederation on voluntary principles. They are guaranteed organisational and financial independence in line with their statutes and programmes.

Delegates to the congress, who represent the interests of more than 140 million members of the country's trade unions, are to elect the confederation's leaders and map out priority directions in their activity.

Under the preliminary schedule, the congress is expected to complete its work today.

Shcherbakov New Trade Union Head

LD2710170190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The results of the voting at the 19th USSR Trade Union Congress [AUCCTU] have just come in. Vladimir Pavlovich Shcherbakov, who was the deputy chairman of the AUCCTU, has been elected chairman of the general confederation of the country's trade unions.

PRAVDA Publishes Gorbachev Speech to Trade Unions

PM2610113190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report on speech by President Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin on 24 October: "The USSR President: 'I Welcome the Trade Unions' Constructive Role;' Speech by M.S. Gorbachev at the USSR Trade Unions Congress"]

[Text] Addressing the delegates, the president emphasized that the country is about to enter a stage of profound changes in all spheres of life, and it is very important to see what stand the trade union congress will take on the questions perturbing society and Soviet people. This is also important from the viewpoint of what tomorrow, the day after tomorrow, and the next few months hold in store, and from the viewpoint of where the path we have taken is leading us. Despite all the urgency of the problems worrying us, we cannot lose sight of the goals and guidelines.

The results of the congress' work, M.S. Gorbachev went on, can be fruitful provided two conditions are met. If the congress confirms the need for further transformations in the interests of people and of the improvement of our entire life. If it consolidates everything positive that perestroyka has already yielded and suggests measures to get rid of everything that is worrying us.

We are interested in strong and independent trade unions—but they can hardly be strong unless they firmly stand on autonomous positions. [We are interested] in trade unions which would operate constructively and responsibly. I was asked about my impressions of the congress' two days of work. It seems to me that, despite the sharply worded speeches from this rostrum, their essence is that people are worried by the situation and think about the country's future. I welcome the serious and considered nature of the opinions and accept the demanding way in which delegates formulate the issues.

A question was asked—and I heard it here as well—about how I imagine the role of trade unions. I cannot imagine a successful solution of the tasks facing us without an active role played by the trade unions. You may recall that even at the previous congress I said that I personally am impressed not by trade unions that dance to the tune of economic managers but those that work constructively and take a firm stand based on the working people's interests and on responsibility for the country's future and the people's life. This is the role of trade unions which I welcome. It is not destructive but constructive, and all this must be borne in mind.

Many specialists in our country are nowadays boosting their prestige by criticizing the bosses. In the age of glasnost, openness, and freedom, people must get off their chests everything that has built up over the years, but this has yet to happen even though much has already been said. Comrades, of course we welcome critical remarks. But subject to one condition: It is necessary to bear in mind where we have ended up as a result of perestroyka and the transition from the old forms of life—economic, social, and political life in our multinational state—to new forms. Over these years we have perhaps traversed a path which some peoples take centuries to traverse.

There have been many negative developments in parallel with positive ones. The main point is that, under pressure from the multitude of problems we had to solve so as to respond to real needs and difficulties, we created an opportunity for distortions in economic development. And now deregulation, panic buying, shortages, and corrupt speculative elements have been set in motion and have sharply aggravated the socioeconomic situation in society. This is a most serious miscalculation by the country's leadership. A miscalculation that was

forced upon us: We wished to get out of the straits as soon as possible. After all, there were people receiving pensions of just 30-40 rubles [R] and even R28. It was decided to increase them at the very start of the five-year plan period. You may recall what happened with physicians and teachers—an opportunity was found to get hold of a few billion [rubles]. Add to that students' stipends and much else. Think of culture, the state it was in! More money was made available, and for housing as well, but the bulk of these funds ended up in the market place.

Enterprises were given freedom, and this freedom—not balanced by certain mechanisms—resulted in profits being channeled not into the development of production and its structural perestroyka but mainly into higher wages. These funds also ended up in the market place. Trade turnover was formerly growing by R10-12 billion a year. Last year's growth was R38 billion, and it reached R42-43 billion in the first nine months of this year. And look at the state of the market place!

Never mind about repenting, lessons must be learned now. Now we are about to adopt new forms of economic life, associated with movement in the direction of market relations. This is the economy's logical development along the path of democratization, decentralization, and handing over rights and economic initiative to grass root collectives themselves. There will be no economic initiative, interest will have no effect under total domination by state ownership, whereby working people are detached from the means of production, do not feel that they are the masters, and have no opportunity to deal with the end results at their own discretion.

Only an owner can conduct affairs as a real master. Therefore, it is necessary to reform ownership relations, and this is the path we will take. There will be state property as well as working people's joint stock, cooperative, and leased enterprises, kolkhoz [collective farm] agrofirms, right down to small-scale private property wherever it may be needed, wherever the state sector and major enterprises fail to solve the tasks.

This being so, since all these owners will enter the economic space, we need the market. Hitherto everything from nails to missiles was distributed by the state and the government. Having taken the path leading to the revival of man's material interest via a reform of ownership, we must arrive at the market. This will be difficult to achieve, it will be a major test for our society, but we must pass it.

The amount of energy, metal, and cement consumed per unit of national income in our country is one and one-half, two, and even three times greater than in developed countries. High oil prices in the world market in the past compensated our economic mismanagement and neglect of technology. There were also attempts to use vodka to compensate economic mismanagement—an additional amount of R100 billion was being earned by boosting alcohol production. It must also be added that we had one of the world's most militarized economies and we were competing with the United States whose economy is almost 2.5 times stronger than ours; as a matter of fact, America itself is no longer able to keep up the arms race. A sizeable part of our scientific capacity was working for the military-industrial sector, which also had the best resources and the best materials. All this must be deployed afresh, man's interest must be revived, the economy must work for him. This is not simple to achieve!

Just analyze the situation as regards attitudes toward labor from positions of equal conscientiousness—how much here is still obsolete and stagnant! Think of the commitment to dependence, the desire to redistribute everything, with production coming in a poor third! A basically healthy process is about to begin, but we are on the brink as regards numerous problems and, unless we keep the situation under control, there will be no positive solution to many questions, disintegration and chaos will set in.

Take the Union for example. There used to be a unitary state, numerous problems built up, and they all surfaced as soon as the situation was democratized. Could we have acted in a better fashion? Yes, we could have. In principle, however, we are on the right path. It is necessary to ensure that each people in this community of peoples feels confident that neither it nor its language will disappear. After all, matters in the Ukraine reached a point where the Ukrainian language—the great language of a great people—was in jeopardy. Small peoples need that much greater protection. When I was in Krasnoyarsk, a writer, representative of the northern peoples, told me: Mikhail Sergeyevich, let us set up a reservation so as to somehow preserve our peoples. This is how far matters have gone.

And so, small and large peoples alike need the ennoblement of everything, including Russia. Look at what is happening even around Moscow, where Russian statehood is rooted. Many roads are in a state of neglect, villages have been abandoned, millions of hectares of wonderful land are overgrown by weeds.

This means that calamity has hit everybody, it means that the Union must undergo radical change so that each people gains self-respect and confidence in the future. And so, a new concept has emerged: A union of sovereign states with maximum rights being exercised at local level so as to provide meaningful sovereignty in terms of power, opportunities to manage the economy, resources, and culture, and so on.

But if we were to look a little further, there is nothing but collapse beyond the union of sovereign states. This is the greatest danger, of which I have always spoken openly and bluntly. We must halt those who are pushing us toward this collapse.

A union of sovereign states will offer an opportunity to develop the potential of all peoples on the basis of

cooperation. There must be sovereign republics and a full-blooded center. This is in the interests of all peoples.

It must be bluntly said that there is nowhere to retreat. Those who suspect that Gorbachev is against socialism are wrong. I am against barrack-room socialism, against a totalitarian state which suppresses man. Is that socialism? (Applause) This, comrades, is a perversion of the socialist idea. Socialism means justice, equality, and freedom. It means an organized society with democratic institutions and mechanisms which preserve and maintain a legal order. We are still far from it. But there is no need to lose our heads and panic under the influence of the calamities along our path. It is necessary to comprehend the depth of the turnabout we are living through. Our generation's destiny is that it has undertaken something and is working not for the sake of a bright future in a few decades' times but for changing its own life, let alone the life of our children and grandchildren.

People say: Give us an answer, give us guidelines. Nobody can give an exhaustive answer to every question posed by revolutionary changes. We are accustomed to living according to instructions and circulars. Our society now has freedom, and it must be utilized: To think, to seek. This is how we arrived at the basic guidelines. Approaches have been precisely formulated, parameters and objectives have been defined, but as for Moscow prescribing what should be done in some combine, enterprise, region, or republic—this is nothing but utopia in a state like ours.

The principles are there, and it is necessary to move on and seek with due consideration for specific economic features and historical traditions, for collectives' moods and maturity. We rejected the program that resembled a passenger train schedule and arrived at agreeing to the principles on whose basis everything should be done. If everyone starts operating according to his own principles, we will split up and revert to feudal fragmentation. The ensuing result will be zero.

The main solutions will emerge over the next six months. This will be the most difficult period. We need to stabilize the market. If something has an adverse effect on a sector or a group of the population, we will have to maneuver, consult, and even resort to emergency measures. This is why we are creating institutions where all republics will be represented. We are also creating them in order to maintain contacts with all detachments of working people. And this is where I revert to the main point with which I started: Nothing will be achieved without the trade unions.

It is very important for us to reach understanding and cooperate at this stage. But if you bring the country's leadership to its knees, nothing good will come of it. You must support the authorities' resolute and firm actions which will be dictated by actual economic processes. And you can expect that the president and the government will be attentive toward you. We are looking forward to a different style of relations, a schedule of meetings, conversations, and exchanges which will be different from the one that was described here as unsatisfactory. One comrade here made a personal remark about me, saying that I could not find time for thorough discussions with the trade unions. There is no excuse, and I accept this reproach.

At this sharp and crucial moment in the country's life, people are tired of rallies and soapbox oratory, they realize that we need accord, cooperation, and firm authority, and all who try to rock the boat encounter a negative response. But I must tell those who might think that the situation is getting more complex and maybe we will return to the old times: No, this will not happen. We want to make the country prosperous, and it will become prosperous because our people have a great intellectual potential, resources, science, and culture. Many peoples want to cooperate with us, and we must be open to this.

All through the seventies we were hunting "witches" and tagging labels, we used a single language: If there is a political opponent, he must be destroyed. Now we must get accustomed to heeding opinions and cooperating with everyone within the framework of the Constitution and the law. If you can join a coalition—do so, this is how things should be in a normal society. Whereas the CPSU formerly claimed a monopoly, now there are other forces claiming it, insisting that they are "genuine" whereas the party and the trade unions are hardly aware of what is happening. I am in favor of the democratic process developing, of all voices being heard within the framework of the Constitution, so that people can hear one another and arrive at that which will ultimately lead to accord on the principles and goals we are pursuing.

In conclusion, M.S. Gorbachev expressed wishes for successful work by the congress and the strengthening of the trade union movement.

Coal Miners Continue Donetsk Congress 25-26 Oct

Coal Minister Addresses Congress

LD2610095190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1545 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Gordeyev and Vladimir Yurkevich]

[Text] Donetsk, 25 Oct (TASS)—The polarity of opinions of delegates of the Second USSR Miners' Congress on setting up an independent miners trade union has confronted its participants with the necessity to set up a conciliation commission. After a keen discussion which went on for several hours, representatives of all production associations of the industry were included in it—60 people. It is this working body of the congress that must draw up a number of program documents on the basis of alternative variants, which have been proposed both by the organizing committee and by delegations from a number of the country's coalfields.

Mikhail Shchadov, USSR minister of coal industry, presented a report today on "The Work of the Coal Industry in Conditions of a Market Economy."

Analyzing the situation in the industry, he reported that the volume of coal extraction will be reduced by 27 million tonnes in the current year alongside the growth of wages. Enterprises of the industry are practically unprepared for working in the new conditions. Productivity is low and the equipment, which has piled up at warehouses of mines and associations to the value of 530 million rubles, is being used ineffectively. Some enterprises, while drawing up plans for 1991, envisage further cuts in fuel extraction. The minister stressed that it is impossible for the coal industry to remain without centralized management in the transition period. He assured miners that there would be no unemployment in the industry.

'Radical Declarations' on Day Two

PM2610143090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

[Report by Nikolay Lisovenko under the rubric: "Direct Line": "Miners in Determined Mood"]

[Text] Donetsk—In an atmosphere of uncompromising political debate, miners' congress delegates have been discussing questions of the implementation of the well-known Council of Ministers Resolution No. 608 and the role of the trade union organization in the life of workers in the coal mining sector.

If the first day of the congress could be described as the day devoted to procedural issues, the second could be viewed as the day of radical declarations. Krasnodon miner V. Lamanov and his colleague B. Mukazhanov from Karaganda not only conveyed a mass of important information concerning the situation in the sector in their half-hour reports, but also actively sought to influence the delegates' political stances. Those present learned that of 96 points specified in USSR Council of Ministers Resolution No. 608, 47 have been implemented, 36 are being dealt with, six have been rejected by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, and on seven points there is neither action nor rejection. This uncertainty was again used to refer to the weakness of the government.

After the report of Vorkuta miner V. Filenko, which lasted an hour and a half, most congress delegates expressed the view that the mine workers need their own independent trade union. The delegates' conviction that radical changes are necessary was further strengthened after the "Program Statement of the Independent Trade Union of USSR Miners" was read out. This document attracted general attention by the precise formulation of positions as regards the socioeconomic protection of miners, the well-thought-out organizational structure, and the specificity of objectives and tasks.

The miners included in the draft of the first congress resolution a demand for the resignation of the Union government, the immediate rotation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and nationwide elections of the country's president. Miners have again reserved the right to resort to an extreme measure—strike.

Conciliation Commission Formed

PM2610141090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lisovenko report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Conciliation Commission Formed"]

[Text] Donetsk— The miners' congress is continuing its work. The heat of the debates is rising.

The day opened with the chairman giving the floor to Yu. Miller [name as transliterated], official translator for the British delegation from the trade union of electricians and mine workers [title as published]. The delegation instructed Yu. Miller, who is here by private invitation, to make a statement at the congress on the money collected by Soviet miners in 1984-1985 and sent to support the families of striking British miners. As is known, as a result of the trade union bosses' "swindles" the money did not reach the needy people. The British police traced it to several banks, but did not investigate further since the international miners' organization where the selfsame bosses thrive is outside the British police's sphere of interests.

The congress delegates demanded that the 1.5 million pounds sterling be returned without delay to those for whom the donations were intended. Many advocated that the Soviet miners withdraw from the international miners' organization.

After the British guest, an American took the floor—John Banovic, secretary-treasurer of the U.S. United Mine Workers Trade Union. He assured the congress that U.S. miners are ready to assist their Soviet colleagues in the cause of transformations and democracy.

The issue of whether there should be a new trade union, and if the answer is yes, what form it should take, was discussed during the debate. Delegates' stances varied. Some were decisively in favor of a new trade union and proposed that the current miners' forum should be regarded as the constituent congress of the new mine workers' organization. Others claimed that this problem cannot be resolved without the consent of their collectives and without a mine workers' referendum. With great difficulty a conciliation commission was formed and started functioning.

Independent Trade Union Set Up

LD2610200190 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By UKRINFORM-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Gordeyev and Vladimir Yurkevich]

[Text] Donetsk October 26 TASS—The second congress of Soviet miners ended with the formation of an independent miners' trade union.

Although this issue was high on the agenda of the five-day forum, most delegates were surprised by the fact.

On Thursday night, a group of representatives from the Kuznetsk coal-mining basin, unsatisfied with the lack of concrete decisions, set up an independent trade union. The group elected an executive committee, which began registering members of the new public organisation. One hundred thirty people joined it immediately.

This action, which nearly caused a split in the congress, eventually forced all delegates to seek ways to consolidate. As a result, a draft charter of the independent miners' trade union was adopted. The Executive Bureau was instructed to register the new trade union and begin preparations for its first congress.

The congress passed a resolution on the speech by Soviet Coal Industry Minister Mikhail Shchadov. It criticised the speech as lacking clear analysis and specific proposals for the coal industry's transition to new conditons. Therefore the congress demanded that the USSR Council of Ministers set up a state and public commission to investigate the coal industry, together with independent experts.

Delegates again demanded the resignation of the Soviet Government. The resolution, passed on the implementation of decisions by the previous congress, says the miners also warned that, if their demands are left unheeded, they will start a protest campaign in December consisting of meetings, demonstrations and non- payment of taxes. A general strike cannot be ruled out in the future.

Central Committee Secretariat Discusses Media

LD2610214790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1607 GMT 26 Oct 90

["From the Session of the CPSU Central Committee"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Oct (TASS)—PRAVDA and TASS correspondents report today from the session of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee:

The October (1990) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee was an event of note in the life of the party. The first plenum since the 28th party congress, it attracted attention primarily by clearly defining a stance on the issue of the most vital importance, the situation in the country and the tasks of the CPSU in connection with the transfer of the economy to market relations.

The party Central Committee stated that it sees the main point of the transition to the market as, above all, improving people's lives, providing for the complete emancipation of their initiative and business energy, and creating clear and reliable incentives and motivations for highly efficient labor, all within the framework of the socialist choice. In doing so, a priority task is to alter the consumer market situation in the very near future and to overcome the shortage of essential goods.

The decisions of the plenum direct the party and each primary organization into persistent work in the transition period to normalize the political, social, and economic situation in the country, and to overcome passivity and vacillation in implementing the political line of the 28th CPSU Congress. An issue of principle is the social cost of the transition to market relations. The plenum deemed it of exceptional importance for the economic and political consequences of the transition to the market to be comprehensively considered and forecast at all levels of production and administration, and for the losses that are inevitable over the transition period to be reduced to a minimum.

To what extent were these tenets reflected in the plan of organizational and political measures to implement the decisions of the plenum, which was submitted for the consideration of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee?

Has the instruction of the plenum to work out recommendations for organizational and propaganda work by Communists and party organizations aimed at the speedy stabilization of the state of affairs in the country been fully taken into account? Does the mechanism for implementing the measures mapped out correspond to the rapidly changing social and political conditions?

V.A. Ivashko, deputy general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in the chair, put these and other questions to the members of the Secretariat and those invited to the session, inviting them to an exchange of views.

O.D. Baklanov, A.N. Girenko, A.S. Dzasokhov, V.A. Kuptsov, Ye. S. Stroyev, V.M. Falin, O.S. Shenin, G.I. Yanayev, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee; I.I. Melnikov, member of the Secretariat of the CPSU Central Committee; I.K. Polozkov, Yu. A. Prokofyev, I.T. Frolov, members of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo; Ye. N. Makhov, first deputy chairman of the CPSU Central Control Committee; and V.D. Popov, editor in chief of DIALOG magzine, who took part in the discussion of this issue, analyzed the sections of the submitted plan. They expressed several constructive opinions and proposals aimed at developing market relations, and at people realizing that the market is the way for the country and society to escape from its crisis, and is also an opportunity to increase the material conditions of the working people and to eliminate workers' artificial alienation from the means of production and the results of their labor.

An animated discussion was held over each section of the plan. Scarcely a single point of the proposed activities passed without committed, and, on occasion, fairly trenchant debate. Many opinions were expressed on the

program of organizational work to rally the efforts of all truly democratic forces, ensure the active participation of each primary organization in the normalization of the political, social, and economic situation in the country, and involve the broad masses of Communists in that process.

To that end, it is intended to hold meetings of Politburo members, Secretaries and CPSU Central Committee members at working collectives, with the intelligentsia and the party and local soviet aktiv, and to examine several pressing issues at sessions of the CPSU Central Committee, connected with the problems of consolidating Communists and all citizens of the country around the ideas of socialist choice, democracy, and humanism, as well as that of the social protection of the population in conditions of the transition to the market economy.

It is essential to create a single state system to prevent unemployment and to train, retrain, and find jobs for workers. Support is needed for the poor sections of the population, particularly pensioners, the disabled, young people, and families with many children. There must also be state price regulation measures, particularly for essential goods, and measures to protect against inflation. The Secretariat session stressed that the party should be at the center of dealing with these urgent tasks. For this to be so, the party should take the initiative and raise matters in the soviets of people's deputies, the Government of the USSR and the executive bodies at local level. In this area the party should cooperate and interact more closely with the trade unions and other public formations. Taking into account the complexity of the transition period, it is essential to look in detail into projected plans and budgets for next year, both for the country as a whole and for each area.

In compliance with an instruction from the plenum, the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat worked out a program of specific actions to improve the provision of information for party propaganda and political work with the masses on matters of market relations.

By way of immediate measures, the reconstruction of the organization and content of economic education in party educational institutions, in party propaganda and the media are provided for. The task is set to prepare and publish in the periodical press cycles of publications popularizing market relations. Essentially, it is a question of an original dictionary of terms and concepts accessible to a wide circle of readers, explaining the market infrastructure, the diversity of forms of ownership, the multiform economy. A similar task is set before Politizdat [Political Literature Publishing House] and the PRAVDA Publishing House of the CPSU Central Committee, which have been instructed to arrange efficiently the publication of literature in the original and in translation on indicated themes.

The Central Committee Secretariat stressed once again the need to objectively and truthfully illuminate in the mass media the policy of the CPSU on the transition to the new economic relations. The press, those who spoke noted, ought to form in society an atmosphere of civil and national accord, incline (people) to order and discipline, creative labor, and promote the way out of the crisis gripping society and the country.

At the instruction of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, the Secretariat session examined measures to support and strengthen the party press. After 1 November, the rights, economic independence and democratization of the administration of editorial offices of newspapers and magazines which belong to party publishing houses will be considerably expanded. From then on, the basis for the economic independence of party publications is the financially autonomous income formed from the profit that remains at the disposal of the editorial office, including money currently channelled into the editor's funds, the salaries, and royalties funds.

Within the said financially autonomous income, the editorial boards of newspapers and magazines are given the right to independently establish structures and staff and the salaries of editorial employees, as well as to determine the size of the annual royalties fund and its distribution among the issues of the newspapers and magazines. Existing restrictions on payments of royalties to members of staff are lifted. What remains of the financial autonomous income at the end of the year is not liable for confiscation and is carried over to the following year.

The CPSU Central Committee Secretariat also examined a number of cadre issues. The decisions of the relevant plenums of party committees were endorsed on the election of A.V. Maslov as first secretary of the Krasnodar Kray Committee of the party, having previously worked as an executive organizer of the Party Building and Cadre Policy Department of the CPSU Central Committee; of G.P. Kazmin, as first secretary of the Krasnoyarsk Kray Committee of the Party, after working as the first secretary of the Khakass Oblast Committee of the party; of V. Yu. Abramenko, as first secretary of the Khakass Oblast Committee of the party, after working as the secretary of that obkom; and of A.M. Zaytsev, as first secretary of the Kemerovo Oblast Committee of the party, after working as the first secretary of the Belovskiy Town Committee of the Party in Kemerovo Oblast.

Trade Union Official Cited on Unemployment Issues

914F0012A Moscow TRUD in Russian 12 Oct 90 p 1

[Article by V. Karpov: "Protection Against Unemployment"]

[Text] A news conference was held yesterday in the press center of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs devoted to the issue of employment in our country in the conditions of transition to a market economy.

Unfortunately, these are issues concerning not only our immediate future but also the present day. Even now there are approximately 2 to 2.5 million unemployed in our country. As was said, the issue will become even more acute in the future. Depending on which strategy of transition to a market economy is opted for, between 10 and 40 million people who have lost their jobs will appear in our country. To be sure, many of them should be able to find employment without major problems. At present there are 11 million (estimated by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Issues [Goskomstrud]) or 17 million (estimated by the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions [AUCCTU]) vacant jobs. Of course, the market will absorb some of the labor.

A discussion took place at the conference that began the day before at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet concerning the draft Basic Guidelines in the first reading. Once again AUCCTU Secretary A. Yakovlev and USSR Goskomtrud Chairman V. Shcherbakov differed on the issues of sources of financing for the employment fund and who is to be considered unemployed. However, they offered assurances that the two sides will come to an agreement in time for the discussion of the draft law in the second reading.

However, it is already clear and undisputed that the "commissioning of the law" as soon as next year will call for between 5 and 6 billion rubles, primarily for unemployment benefits. The overall outlay will come to 12 billion. It was said at the conference that this money could be found; the law will be funded.

It was also stressed that the state will provide assistance and defend the rights of citizens migrating abroad to find work, and that the government will resolve the issue associated with the residence permit system for citizens.... However, what is the main objective of the new law on employment?

AUCCTU Secretary A. Yakovlev said: "The objective is for working people to know that they are protected and that they are guaranteed the right to aid under any program of transition to a market economy."

Lukyanov Comments on Moldavia, Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2710192890 Moscow TASS in English 1911 GMT 27 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Igor Agabekov and Leonid Vorontsov]

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The Soviet parliament and Government continually control the situation in Moldavia, where a state of emergency was imposed on some areas as a result of the worsening of inter-ethnic relations. Leonid Gorshkov, USSR people's deputy and representative of the Soviet Parliament, is now staying in that region. Ivan Shilov, USSR first deputy interior minister, flew there today, said Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet (parliament). He spoke at the Trade Union Congress today and answered questions of its delegates. According to Lukyanov, no casualties were reported in the region. "We seek to do all we can to avoid bloodshed there," he stressed.

The chairman of the Soviet parliament said that the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the Gagauz republic, held this week, "Are at variance both with the Moldavian Constitution and with our legislation". "A long and difficult political dialogue lies ahead of us. We are against the use of force in whatever form in that region". Lukyanov pointed out that inter-ethnic relations cannot be improved through the use of force and said that the maximum restraint and understanding should be displayed.

Touching upon the situation in the Nagorno-Karabakh region, Lukyanov said that during the past two days Soviet leaders had held talks with representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh. Although much remains to be done, the situation in that region is beginning to improve, the chairman of the Soviet Parliament believes.

Gorbachev Signs Law on USSR Laws' Preeminence

PM2610185890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

["USSR Law on Ensuring That Laws and Other Acts of USSR Legislation Take Effect"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] The law-making activities of Union republics' supreme organs of state power on the basis of the adopted Declarations on State Sovereignty strengthen the republics' political and economic autonomy and provide their sovereignty with real content.

At the same time, instances of refusal by Union republics' state organs to implement all-Union laws and other acts of USSR supreme organs of state power and government, issued within the limits of their authority, have increased. Efforts have been made to set preliminary conditions for the operation of these acts on the territory of the relevant Union republics—ratification or approval of all-Union acts by the republics' supreme organs. In defiance of the 26 April 1990 USSR Law "On the Delimitation of Powers Between the USSR and the Components of the Federation," some Union republics announced the possibility of the suspension of the operation of all-Union laws and resolutions of the USSR Government on their territory, if, in their opinion, these acts violate the rights and interests of the particular republic or region. This is detrimental to USSR sovereignty and the primacy of USSR laws throughout the country's territory, and this is one of the main reasons for the failure to implement the economic, political, and sociocultural measures that are at the heart of the perestroyka policy. Many leaders of enterprises, institutions, and organizations are failing to adopt proper measures to implement contract commitments, which results in the disruption of economic links.

To ensure the implementation of USSR laws and other acts of the supreme organs of state power and government of the USSR issued within the limits of their authority, to stabilize the national economy, and to create conditions for the transition to a market economy, until the conclusion of a new Union treaty, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

Article 1. That laws, the USSR president's decrees, and other acts of supreme organs of state power and government of the USSR issued within the limits of their authority, are binding on all state and public organs, officials, and citizens on the territory of the USSR.

If a republican law differs from a USSR law, then the USSR law operates until the new Union treaty is concluded.

Article 2. That a republic's supreme organ of state power has the right to propose to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies or USSR Supreme Soviet that USSR legislative acts be revised. An appeal to the Congress of USSR People's Deputies or USSR Supreme Soviet does not suspend a USSR legislative act.

If, in the opinion of a Union republic, a USSR law or other act of a supreme organ of state power and government of the USSR violates the republic's rights, then, in accordance with Article 124 of the USSR Constitution, the question can be resolved on the basis of the findings of the USSR Constitutional Oversight Committee.

Union republics' supreme organs of state power are also entitled to protest to the USSR Supreme Soviet against acts of the USSR Council of Ministers if they violate the republic's rights. A decision has to be made on the protest at a routine session of the USSR Supreme Soviet within a month.

Article 3. That the binding force of USSR laws throughout the country's territory cannot be the object of accords between individual republics, or, indeed, between organs of the USSR and of individual republics.

The establishment in republics of preliminary conditions or any other direct or indirect restrictions whatever on the operation of USSR laws and other acts of supreme organs of state power and government of the USSR, is an unlawful attempt to infringe the sovereignty of the USSR and violate the USSR Law "On the Delimitation of Powers Between the USSR and the Components of the Federation" and will have no juridical effect.

Article 4. To state that in the course of implementation of the present law the USSR president may relieve leaders of state enterprises, institutions, and organizations under Union jurisdiction of their duties if they fail to ensure observance of acts of USSR legislation, and may appoint relevant officials.

Article 5. That Union and autonomous republics' Supreme Soviets be recommended, in view of the tasks of stabilization of the national economy and transition to the market econpomy, to adopt measures to delimit the authority of soviets and their executive and administrative organs.

Article 6. That this law enter into effect from the moment of publication.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev.
The Kremlin, Moscow, 24 October 1990.

Amendments Issued to Law on Local Self-Government

PM2610201090 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

["USSR Law on Amendments to the USSR Law 'On the General Principles of Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the USSR'"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] In view of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet appeal, the USSR Supreme Soviet resolves:

1. To make Part 2 of Point 3 of Article 6 of the 9 April 1990 USSR Law "On the General Principles of Local Self-Government and Local Economy in the USSR" (VEDOMOSTI SYEZDA NARODNYKH DEPUTATOV SSSR I VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSSR, 1990, No. 16, p 267) read as follows:

"Decisions of local soviets of people's deputies and their executive and administrative organs adopted within the bounds of their authority are binding for implementation by the relevant lower-level soviets of people's deputies and their executive and administrative organs. Local soviets of people's deputies and their executive and administrative organs are guided in their activity by the USSR Constitution, the constitutions of Union and autonomous republics, and laws of the USSR and Union and autonomous republics."

2. The present law enters into force from the moment of publication.

[Signed] USSR President M. Gorbachev
Moscow, Kremlin, 23 October 1990.

Constitutional Body Adopts Human Rights Decisions

LD2610225890 Moscow TASS in English 1644 GMT 26 Oct 90

[by TASS correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—The Soviet Constitutional Compliance Committee has annulled a number of restrictions connected with residence permits and adopted other decisions to protect human rights, committee members told a news conference here today.

Every Soviet citizen has been obliged to obtain a residence permit from the Interior Affairs Office in order to settle in any given area. The office also registers migration.

The committee's statement said that registration was not at variance with Soviet laws and universally acknowledged international norms. But residence permits hampered the citizens' exercise of one of their basic rights—freedom to migrate, work and receive an education.

Committee member Mikhail Piskotin, however, stressed that it was impossible to annul residence permits immediately because of the great housing shortage in the country. The transition from permits to registrations will be accomplished stage-by-stage in line with the construction of the housing and labour markets.

For the time being, the committee has managed to annul restrictions connected with residence permits when enrolling new students for studies at higher educational establishments and when registering one spouse for residence in the other spouse's housing in Moscow and Leningrad.

The committee proclaimed unconstitutional the ban on combining the post of a leader in a body of state authority or government with any other post, including in political and socio-political organisations. The ban was imposed by the June 1990 resolution of the congress of Soviet people's Deputies.

According to committee deputy Chairman Boris Lazarev, this ban was discriminatory for political reasons and prompted by the desire to impose restrictions on the activity of one specific political organisation—the Soviet Communist Party.

Asked about the current "legal warfare" between the centre and republics, Lazarev stressed that until the new Union treaty is signed, the present constitution of the Soviet Union and the law on the division of powers between the Union and the republics will have to be honoured absolutely.

PRAVDA Denies 'Retreating Into Capitalism'

PM2910130590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed commentary under "Market Ahead" rubric: "The Choice Has Been Made"]

[Text] This is the title of the first section of the "Basic Guidelines on the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy," which were submitted to the USSR Supreme Soviet for examination by USSR President M.S. Gorbachev and published in full in PRAVDA on 18 October.

The choice has been made!—we can say so confidently today, after the program has been approved by the Union legislature. Henceforth our society will live and build itself according to the laws of the market economy entirely geared to the individual, to making production face up to the specific consumer, to overcoming the shortages which poison people's mood and the lines which humiliate us all, and to ensuring citizens' economic freedom not in declarations but in practice: freedom to work creatively, inventively, and highly efficiently; freedom to work not according to laws which equate the middling person and the slacker with the master craftsman and the industrious worker, but while receiving in keeping with one's efforts and talents.

Does this not mean that we are "retreating into capitalism," as some skeptics maintain? Not at all! Surely the principle "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his labor" is ours, and does it really run counter to the socialist choice? The right to have control over property and to be the master of production in reality and not in words—is this not the right proclaimed by a people who look with hope to the future?...

No; if we are retreating, we are retreating from what has fettered and discredited our path toward a civilized society, when edicts, rebukes, apathy, and mismanagement will be replaced by thrifty quick-wittedness and the responsibility of the collective and of every citizen for the general welfare.

So, the choice has been made. The market lies ahead.

Preparations for 7 November Events Detailed

Deputies Block Tank Procession

PM2710160490 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Oct 90 Union Edition p 6

[F. Ivanov report: "How a 'Platoon' of Deputies Stopped a Tank Column"]

[Text] At 2330 on 26 October on Vosstaniye Square in Moscow, for the first time in the history of preparations for the November military parades, a group of people's deputies stopped the tanks....

A few hours before the incident most of the capital's central streets were blocked by reinforced patrols of the State and Military Motor Vehicle Inspectorates, who were ensuring unhampered access to Red Square for the armored columns.

Having completed their maneuvers, the machines were returning to their stations by the prescribed route along Sadovoye Koltso, which had also been cleared of passing traffic beforehand. On Vosstaniye Square, several people suddenly jumped out of the crowd on the sidewalk, sprang onto the pavement and, waving their arms, stood in the path of the oncoming column of heavy tanks. The machines stopped.

Patrolling militiamen and servicemen who were at hand ran up to the unidentified persons. A scuffle broke out.

After a few minutes two Volgas drove into the square and several men in military uniform got out. One of

them, who later turned out to be Colonel Bogdanov, deputy military commandant of the city, demanded that the unofficial demonstrators clear the way. At that moment it emerged that the instigators of the incident were no mere bystanders, but people's deputies: of Moscow City Soviet and of Russia. One of them—Aleksandr Osovtsev, Moscow City Soviet deputy, Moscow City Soviet Presidium member, and chairman of the Standing Commission on Social Questions—continued to beat off the militiamen who were pushing him back onto the sidewalk, and said:

"This is not a specially planned action. We were here by chance.... But we were indignant at the show of military strength—a direct threat to us all. We cannot tolerate tanks driving through Moscow."

Negotiations with the people's elected representatives looked as if they were about to bear fruit, and the tanks to set off again. But at that moment an elderly bearded man detached himself from the group and lay down on the pavement right under the tracks of the lead vehicle. Lying on his back, he gave IZVESTIYA's correspondent an interview:

"I, Lev Shemayev, member of the Coordinating Council of the Moscow Voters' Association, protest against saber-rattling and I will not budge...."

The public, attracted by this unusual spectacle, split into two camps. Voices shouted "You have no business here, clear off!" and "We are on your side, guys!" But there were also helpers on both sides. A man in a threadbare overcoat walked unsteadily up to the tank and lay down on the armor. Two young guys in black jackets with sports logos flung themselves on the member of the Coordinating Council and started dragging him toward the sidewalk. He defended himself with an attache case.... Then they decisively and skillfully "beat back" A. Osovtsev.

The militia and military looked on in perplexity, not knowing what to do. The militia's young assistants let it be known that they were here "by chance, but they have a view on the matter because they are servicemen." They refused to give their names, but a militia sergeant, at the deputies' request, asked for their documents. When I asked where these guys were from, the sergeant answered vaguely: "Over there...."

It took another 15 minutes or so to persuade Lev Shemayev, who was lying down under all the tanks one after another, to leave the square. There was a split in the ranks of the people's deputies on the question of whether to continue lying down or to leave. In the end, half an hour after the conflict, the column of vehicles continued its progress. Colonel Bogdanov said:

"I have prepared for umpteen parades and have never seen anything like it."

In the opinion of the deputy military commandant of the city, the deputies were simply drunk. Deputy Osovtsev said in reply, through clenched teeth: "We were having a night out...."

One of the rubbernecks gave his own explanation: "That is why it is called Vosstaniye [Uprising] Square...."

Alternative Processions in Moscow

LD2810070190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2246 GMT 27 Oct 90

[From the "Television News Service" program presented by Yuriy Rostov]

[Text] With the approach of 7 November discussion on upcoming parades and demonstrations is becoming ever more contentious. Today it has transpired that two alternative processions will proceed in Moscow.

The Lithuanian legislature has declared that celebration is inappropriate. Kiev students will block the military parade, while in Perm, Afghanistan veterans will proceed to the oblast committee building for a protest rally.

Groups Plan Demonstrations

PM2610115190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[TASS correspondent Yu. Bersenev report: "So Will There Be a Demonstration?"]

[Text] Will the festive demonstration take place on Red Square on 7 November and will the Moscow City Soviet leadership's negative attitude to it persist?

"It is no secret that people today see the significance of the October Revolution in different ways," V. Bokser, chief of department in the Moscow City Soviet chairman's office. "Passions have become so heated that the mayors of Moscow and Leningrad, wise and experienced men, have proposed refraining from demonstrations on that day and devoting it to putting the cities in good order and preparing for winter. But the Moscow CPSU Gorkom [city party committee], along with six other organizations, has put in an application to hold a demonstration and is busily getting ready on the assumption that around 100,000 people will take part.

"At least two action groups have put in different applications. One, which comes from a number of USSR and RSFSR people's deputies in Zelenograd, unfortunately envisages holding a demonstration at the same place at the same time. That option is, from my standpoint, undesirable, and there will clearly have to be discussion. Another application, signed by a number of representatives of the Moscow Voters' Association but not yet discussed by the association leadership, proposes a different demonstration to that of the gorkom at a different time and along a different route. That option is, I think, more appropriate and will allow any potential incidents to be averted. I personally would prefer there to be nothing at all that day.

"The Moscow Soviet Presidium will examine without fail all applications received, since people must know about our decision at least a week ahead."

[Bersenev] "But doesn't such a situation hamper the parade?"

[Bokser] "Rumors that some groups are preparing to lie down in front of tanks in order to stop the parades do concern us. I do not know whether they are true, but the rumors must not be disregarded. I, anyway, would not recommend anyone to do so."

Cities Prepare for Parades

PM2810195190 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 p 1

[Unattributed report in response to letter from Leningrad reader A. Novikov: "Where Will There Be Parades?"]

[Text] It will soon be 7 November. Will there be military parades and demonstrations that day?

[Signed]A. Novikov, Leningrad.

We contacted the city soviet executive committees of several major cities. This is what we managed to find out: In Dushanbe and Tashkent everything will be as normal—there will be a military parade and a demonstration by working people. It is reported from Kiev that as yet festivities in honor of 7 November are not being canceled. In Leningrad rehearsals are taking place—the military are preparing for a parade.

Tallinn: Although the city soviet executive committee has not authorized the holding of a military parade and demonstration in the center of the city, they are evidently going to take place where they have done before. But in Riga there will be no military parade in 11 November Square at least—troop units have been suggested to hold one on "their own territory." On the day of the jubilee the party city committee will stage a street parade and a rally.

In Moscow preparations for a Red Square parade and demonstration are in full swing.

Further on Red Square Parade

PM2910125990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant General A. Golovnev, first deputy commander of the Moscow Military District, by N. Burbyga 25 October in Moscow: "Parade on Red Square Will Take Place"; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A briefing organized by the USSR Defense Ministry press center and the Moscow Military District command was held 25 October on the Khodynskoye field in Moscow, where preparation for the parade is now under way. The briefing was devoted to questions of organizing and preparing for the 7 November parade on Red Square. Lieutenant General A. Golovnev, first deputy commander of the Moscow Military District, answers your correspondent's questions.

[Burbyga] What subunits are being enlisted to the parade and how many servicemen will take part?

[Golovnev] The total number of servicemen taking part in the parade will be 8,643, which is 657 fewer than in previous years. Today there are 3,518 men on the parade ground. They include motorized riflemen, assault troops, armored troops, naval infantry, military academy students, and military college cadets. Many of them are taking part in the parade for the first time, but there are also servicemen who will be parading for the second, third, or even fourth time.

[Burbyga] Will new combat equipment be presented at the parade?

[Golovnev] No, except for the "Topol" missile launcher, which will be shown for the first time. I believe the main thing is not the showing of new combat equipment. Lithuanians and Ukrainians, Russians and Georgians will pass by in single formation.... So that for us the parade is not a demonstration of power and strength but a tradition.

[Burbyga] Will the Ryazan assault troops who advanced on Moscow in September take part in the parade?

[Golovnev] If it is a case of the assault troops whom we were obliged to send to the capital "under their own steam" because the railroad was overloaded, then yes. And in all there will be two assault regiments in the parade.

[Burbyga] Opponents of holding the parade cite the fact that a large quantity of gasoline will go on preparing and holding it and that servicemen will be taken away from service....

[Golovnev] The gasoline which we will combat would have gone on planned military training anyway. As for the servicemen, in this period they are in fact "not taking a break from production." Drill training is being done with them and they are servicing combat equipment. Feeling a helping hand every day rallies people together.

[Burbyga] What is your attitude toward the fact that there will be no parades on this day in a whole series of cities?

[Golovnev] I cannot understand some people's desire to forget their past. That is nothing but the arrogance of the new local authorities. I see in this one further element—it is easier to engage in demagogery than to organize economic life locally. The army has been obliged to engage in saving the harvest. The Moscow Military District alone has earmarked 35,000 men to bring in the harvest. And there were days when about 75,000 servicemen were working in the oblast's fields.... [Golovnev ends]

And so the reality of our day is that there can even be different views of the parade.

KGB Official Discusses Overseas Intelligence Work

LD2610221490 Moscow TASS in English 2111 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondents Aleksandr Borisov and Igor Peskov]

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—Allegations that a "great" number of Soviet intelligence agents have betrayed their country and cooperated with foreign special services are, at least, provocative and untrue, Soviet intelligence chief Leonid Shebarshin said today.

On Friday, Shebarshin, heading the KGB First Main Department, met representatives of the Forum-90 association of young politicians and spoke of aims, tasks and methods of work of the KGB foreign political intelligence in the current conditions.

"Since 1975, 15 former intelligence agents have betrayed their country," Shebarshin said. "Nine of them are currently abroad and six were punished by the Soviet justice".

Like all the country, the Soviet intelligence is changing, Shebarshin said. New tasks have been added to its main task, which is to obtain secret information used by the country's leadership to take political decisions.

He said the process of disarmament in the county sets the task of "political control" over the process. New functions, such as to combat narcobusiness, terrorism and economic sabotage against the state, have been added.

In spite of the improvement of intelligence equipment, people remain its main tool, including intelligence agents working abroad under the cover of various institutions and secret agents, Shebarshin said.

Speaking of citizens of other countries, cooperating with the Soviet intelligence, Shebarshin said "neither of them is forced to do so, as they work on the ideological or financial basis".

The Soviet intelligence has "done away with confrontational methods in its work", he said. Shebarshin admitted that previously, the work had been aimed to search for an enemy and exaggerated the threat for the Soviet Union".

Young politicians asked many interesting and "loaded" questions. Shebarshin denounced allegations that KGB collects compromising materials on foreign political figures and uses them in its work.

"We do study foreign politicians, mainly using open sources. We compile their psychological profiles, where we sometimes note their negative features," Shebarshin said. "But they are not used to exert pressure or for other ends."

Asked if the Soviet intelligence is planning to work in the Baltic Republics, Shebarshin said he hoped that "all of them will remain in the fold of the Soviet federation". If they secede from the Soviet Union, "we will keep an eye on them, but I doubt that they will be of great interest to us", Shebarshin said.

KGB Prevented Urals Nuclear Explosion in 1970's

LD2610201490 Moscow TASS in English 1852 GMT 26 Oct 90

[By TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Chelyabinsk October 26 TASS—State Security agents prevented an underground nuclear explosion, Chelyabinsk Region KGB Chief Major-General Yuriy Polyakov told journalists here.

In the middle of the seventies work was under way in the southern Urals to prepare such an explosion to create an underground "burial vault" for storing radionuclear waste from the Soviet first nuclear industrial production enterprise Mayak.

Reginal KGB officials discussed the project with specialists and decided the project was inadmissible. Their report to the Soviet Council of Ministers soon brought the preparations to a standstill, and later the plan was annuled.

At the end of 1988, the regional KGB supported the Mayak leadership in its protest against the plan of the then Union Ministry of Medium Machine Building to sign a contract with some foreign firms. The proposal envisaged reprocessing nuclear fuel after its use in Western nuclear power plants and burying the radioactive waste in the southern Urals.

One of the local KGB's prime tasks is to prevent emergencies. The Ural region is packed full of installations that could prove hazardous in an emergency. The region produces, stores and transports nuclear, chemical and other volatile products.

KGB agents keep a close watch over the strict observance of technological and safety rules. They render all possible assistance to constructive activities by people's deputies and Green Movement activists aimed at improving the ecological situation in the region.

According to Polyakov, time has come to declassify all information about the radiation situation in the area where the Mayak Association operates.

However, he stressed, it is necessary to remember that this enterprise continues to play a major role in ensuring the country's defence capability. Demands that it should be scrapped are precocious.

Frolov Comments on PRAVDA Developments

LD2810234790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Interview with Ivan Timofeyevich Frolov, Politburo member and PRAVDA editor in chief, by reporter N. Shakhova, following a news conference at the CPSU Central Committee press center on 24 October; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting with Ivan Timofeyevich Frolov, Politburo member and editor-in-chief of the newspaper PRAVDA, was held today in the CPSU Central Committee press center.

[Shakhova] This meeting went on for more than two hours. There were the most varied questions for Ivan Timofeyevich. For example, why is the development of the social sciences lagging behind? What meaning does he place in the concept of the ruling party? Why is no fundamental appraisal being given of the activity of former Politburo member Geydar Aliyev? How are relations between yourself and the editorial collective of PRAVDA shaping up? How are subscriptions going? There were both practical and theoretical questions.

Ivan Timofeyevich, I am departing somewhat from the general rules of news conferences in that I am asking my question after the news conference. What did it give you?

[Frolov] Well, it is very important for me on these occasions to know the view of journalists. Their questions always express public oipinion. It is impossible to engage in politics, and, in particular, to work on a newspaper such as PRAVDA without this.

[Shakhova] Yes, evidently, it is for this reason that there were so many questions about PRAVDA, its content, and on subscriptions and everything. For me, this was extraordinarily interesting.

[Frolov] Yes, well, we really are at an interesting stage of our development now. The first to enter the mass media market is the press. The price of many newspapers has been increased. This puts us in a difficult situation in many cases, but on the other hand, it probably forces us to work more actively, too.

Gorbachev, Ryzhkov Generate Negative Poll Ratings

91UN0111A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 42, Oct 90 p 1

[Article by L. Byzov and G. Gurevich: "On Confidence in the Union Leadership"]

[Text] By direction of the Subcommittee on the Study of Public Opinion of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Supreme Soviet, on 28-30 September of this year the Sociological Express Information Scientific Center conducted an express survey of the population on attitudes towards the granting of extraordinary (so-called "special") powers by the USSR Supreme Soviet to President M. Gorbachev, and towards the official demand of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet that the government of N. Ryzhkov resign immediately. From 100 to 500 individuals (2,000 in all) were surveyed in the cities of Moscow, Kazan, Kaluga, Orekhovo-Zuyevo, and Kimry (Tver Oblast), and in villages of Kaluga and Vladimir Oblasts.

Results showed that the Union leadership does not enjoy the confidence of the population. This is especially true of the Ryzhkov government. Those surveyed most definitely support the demand of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet that the Ryzhkov government immediately resign—from 81 percent in Kimry to 58 percent in the Kaluga Oblast village of Detchino. In Moscow this figure was 65.4 percent. It was also characteristic that the percentage of people having difficulty responding to the question on the demand for the resignation of the Ryzhkov government was everywhere significantly lower than that with respect to the question on extraordinary presidential powers.

It is interesting that in the large cities—Moscow and Kazan, while a negative attitude was seen towards the Union leadership, it was nonetheless a more loyal attitude than what was observed in the small cities and settlements. Quite recently radicalism was more characteristic of the major cities.

On the whole, those polled relate negatively to the granting of additional, special powers to Gorbachev. While young people exhibited a completely negative attitude towards this measure, up to 40 percent of individuals in the senior citizen group (over 50 years old) support the special powers of the president.

Reactions to Gorbachev Nobel Prize Viewed

91UN0127A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 42, 20 Oct 90 p 1

[Yu. Borisov commentary: "The Two Sides of the Nobel Medal"]

[Text] President of the USSR M.S. Gorbachev has been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The committee that made this decision, justified it this way: "for his leading role in the peace process."

A correspondent of the American newspaper THE WASHINGTON POST formulated it more simply: "Gorbachev has changed the world." But this same correspondent, Robert Kaiser, also had to note that reaction to the conferring of this high award differed: with approval in the West and a somewhat placid reaction here in our country.

However, we have always had this kind of attitude toward the prizes awarded by the Nobel Committee. Lev Nikolayevich Tolstoy simply rejected it. Boris Leonidovich Pasternak was advised not to accept the prize. We cannot say that the conferring of this award on

Andrey Dmitriyevich Sakharov was marked by any enthusiastic approval by his fellow countrymen.

As far as Gorbachev is concerned we will not be cunning. This is something else. The attitudes of our fellow citizens toward the international award is conditioned by the situation in the country today. "The Soviet people should be awarded a Nobel prize for their suffering;" this is what one passerby in Moscow said to a Western journalist.

An NBC commentator simplified the task when he said: "His—Gorbachev's—fellow countrymen would have preferred to have bread and potatoes."

It is difficult to argue with that. We are in crisis. We are tense, bitter, and impatient. We eat poorly and are dressed poorly. But might not placing all the ills of the system on one man risk breaking him? To see the source of the ills in the freedom and democracy that he has proposed the people should champion and defend? And is it not thanks to Gorbachev and his "team" that Europe and the world have begun to view us not as an evil empire but as people who want to live in peace with all humankind and move along the same road as everyone?

We still need to evaluate the change in the world made by Gorbachev. History will decide where he was right, and where his opponents were.

But do all those on the left and right who are criticizing him and issuing ultimatums and bringing the people out into the streets understand this, or is it that despite all their radicalism and noble passion they are talking to the president and to us in the language of the past?

Bread and meat will ultimately become available. But where will we get everything else that makes us people of world? That which has been achieved with such difficulty by Nobel Prize laureate Gorbachev. He achieved it in us, in our consciousness which is so difficult to change....

Gorbachev Presidency's 200 Days Evaluated

PM2910110190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Union Edition p 5

[Interview with French political scientist Michel Lesage by IZVESTIYA correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "Is There a Crisis of Power in the USSR, or the First 200 Days of President Gorbachev"—date of interview not given, first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Paris—The well-known political scientist Michel Lesage, director of the Paris Institute of Comparative Law, analyzes the first results of presidential rule.

[Kovalenko] During our conversation published in IZVESTIYA 21 February 1990 you favored the introduction of the presidential rule system in the Soviet Union. Now six months have already passed since M.S. Gorbachev's election as head of our state. And clearly, it is possible to sum up the first results. Has presidential rule in our country lived up to expectations? To what extent has it facilitated the solution of our numerous problems?

[Lesage] First of all, the introduction of presidential rule has helped to establish a balance of power between the party and the state. The creation of the new structures—the Council of the Federation and the Presidential Council—and the reorganization of the Politburo were of great importance. On the whole, the results of M.S. Gorbachev's work in the post of USSR president are positive, in my opinion. However, when analyzing them in the individual areas, the verdict cannot be unqualified. The biggest successes have been achieved in the foreign policy sphere, although these are not directly connected with the introduction of the institution of presidential power. As for the economy, it seems to me that in this sphere M.S. Gorbachev has managed to get your country to recognize the need for switching to market relations. It would have been much more difficult to achieve this if Gorbachev had remained only the party general secretary. But in my opinion you have embarked too late on drafting the Union treaty. Many republics were demanding that talks on this issue be opened as long as two years ago. Time has been lost. It is difficult, of course, to judge this from the sidelines, since I am not familiar with all the internal problems and the alignment of forces at the time. Nonetheless, I believe that Gorbachev's position as USSR president would be much stronger if he could keep ahead of events in the preparation of the Union treaty, rather than following in the wake.

[Kovalenko] At present most republics in the Soviet Union have proclaimed sovereignty, and also the principle of the supremacy of republican laws over union laws. Does this not mean that the president has much less power now than he had six months ago? Is there a crisis of power in the USSR, as some Soviet and Western political scientists are claiming?

[Lesage] The proclamation of sovereignty by republics implies the creation of a Union on a new basis with new relations between the individual members of the federation. Here the president has an opportunity of playing a very important role—the role of mediator between the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], other republics, and the central power in the cause of the restoration of the country's unity. The fact that Gorbachev now occupies left-of-center positions means that he has much more scope for maneuver that those who occupy the left flank.

Recently MOSCOW NEWS wrote that Gorbachev is free to issue any decrees he wants, while Soviet citizens are free not to implement them. Until a system relying on a consensus is created which in turn is based on people's confidence in the government, the power of the law will remain relatively limited. And if there is no real collaboration between the president and all the country's political and economic forces, then decrees will simply

remain on paper, even if the paper bears Gorbachev's signature. I, as a lawyer, am surprised that many presidential decrees seem to relate to issues which belong to the USSR Council of Ministers' sphere of competence rather than that of the president who is obliged to uphold statewide interests. It is very important, of course, to attend to the fate of children—the victims of Chernobyl, but the president should give instructions to the government rather than issue decrees about the transfer of specific sanatoriums from the administration of one department to another. The president's main role, as I see it, consists in providing impetus, pointing out the directions in which it is necessary to proceed, and issuing instructions and directives to the government rather than supplanting it.

[Kovalenko] Does it not seem to you that in the future the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet who may, in the longer term, become Russia's president will wield more real power in his republic that the Union president.

[Lesage] That is possible. However if a single market is created uniting all republics, and if the latter cooperate among themselves, then the task of the president will consist of facilitating contacts between them and ensuring the functioning of this market as such. Take a look at what is happening in the European Economic Community. Its member states enjoy full autonomy, but then Jacques Delors, president of the EC Commission, plays a key role in defining the common economic policy of the EEC. Here you have an example where sovereign states are able to function on the one hand, and on the other hand diverse political and economic ties are developing among them. The USSR president, even if he wields less power at the local level than the repubics' presidents, can and must act if not as a unifying force, then at least at a mediator between them, and must also express common interests.

[Kovalenko] In connection with the country's transition to the market, the Paris press writes that a confrontation between Gorbachev and Yeltsin is inevitable. How likely is such a confrontation, and what is it fraught with?

[Lesage] It is difficult for me to predict anything. All kind of surprises are possible in the relations between Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Not so long ago they unexpectedly reached agreement regarding the elaboration of a common program of transition to the market. But should such a confrontation occur, and become acute, then this could spark a very serious political crisis in the Soviet Union which could have grave consequences. However, both Gorbachev and Yeltsin are aware of the whole responsibility which rests on them and I believe that a compromise between them is feasible.

[Kovalenko] Centrifugal tendencies are threatening the very existence of the Soviet Union and could lead to its disintegration. Does the president possess enough power to prevent this?

[Lesage] I am not one of those who believe that your country is doomed to fall apart. The chances of recreating the Union on a new basis and ensuring its existence in a different shape have not yet been lost. The movement for secession from the USSR is very strong, but there are also processes which operate in the opposite direction. And finally, many of those who advocate secession from the USSR have already come up against the harsh reality during their contacts with the outside world. The Soviet Union has lost its cohesion. However in conditions of the interdependent world, the movement in republics for total separation is at variance with the realities of the present-day situation. The need for contacts remains. Take a look: many republics have already concluded agreements among themselves. Autarky and isolation do not constitute a sensible policy. All the republics are hoping that they will have an opportunity to enter world markets while bypassing the center, but I believe that there still is an opportunity to create a different center as distinct from the one which has existed up to now. It is always risky to draw comparisons, but within the EEC, for instance, many agreements are concluded among its members, although this process is a very complex one. The relations inside the community are full of conflicts and sometimes it seems that everything will fall apart, but then an accord is always reached.

[Kovalenko] In your opinion, what role should the president play in the elaboration of the new Union treaty, in the preservation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, in other words?

[Lesage] Gorbachev, the politician, has one remarkable quality which he has demonstrated more than once. This is his skill to adapt to a changing situation. Naturally, the quest for new forms of the unification of Russia and other republics is an extremely complex task, but Gorbachev possesses all the talents of a mediator. And finally, he has international prestige which is very important both in the foreign and domestic spheres.

[Kovalenko] The USSR Supreme Soviet has recently vested the president with additional powers. To what extent was this step justified?

[Lesage] I believe that major economic reforms must be carried out swiftly, but unfortunately the normal procedures provided for in the Constitution do not always facilitate this task. The French legislature is also able, in accordance with the Constitution, to invest the president and the government with the right to rule by means of decrees which have the nature of laws. Therefore it seems completely logical to resort to the implementation of the economic program by means of presidential decrees, but as I said earlier, such decrees must have the nature of laws rather than supplanting government decisions. The government is quite capable of adopting resolutions on the observance of contract relations between enterprises, for instance, or setting prices for goods. Presidential decrees are not necessary for this. So

far, in my opinion, almost all of Gorbachev's decrees to this effect could have been adopted by the government as resolutions or instructions.

[Kovalenko] Does this mean that the duties of the president and the government are not sufficiently clearly separated in our country?

[Lesage] The rule-of-law state which is being established in the Soviet Union presupposes the division of duties between the various organs of power. When cigarettes disappeared in Moscow, the president should have summoned the chairman of the Council of Ministers, declared that such a situation is intolerable, and demanded that he take the requisite steps. Ryzhkov, in turn, should have demanded an answer from his minister and applied sanctions. But what did we see instead? The president himself attended to this problem, he summoned leaders and punished the culprit—Nikitin, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, was forced to resign.... This incident indicates that there is no precise division of duties in your country between the president and the government. In France the head of state issues general instructions on the main trends of the country's development, while the solution of specific economic issues is left to the government. In the United States the situation is different, there is no government as such and the president bears direct responsibility for the performance of the administration.

[Kovalenko] In short, "the president presides, and the government governs"... according to the formula prevalent in France.

If the president starts constantly interfering in the affairs of the government, then he must automatically accept part of the responsibility, thus placing himself in the firing line of criticism. When it is said in our country that the "president presides," it means that he regulates the work of various institutions of power and defines their tasks, but specific questions are dealt with by the "government which governs." As for Gorbachev's attitude toward the Ryzhkov government, it seems to some extent ambivalent, since, on the one hand he supports Ryzhkov, and on the other hand he undermines his authority by presenting his own program of economic reforms which is different from that of the government, or by adopting decisions on specific questions in his place. Therefore I believe that this situation cannot go on for much longer: It is necessary either to replace the government, or to enable it to function independently.

[Kovalenko] Paris observers are frequently asking questions about the functions of the Presidential Council which, in their opinion, is in many respects duplicating the presidential advisers apparatus....

[Lesage] I believe that it resembles the U.S. National Security Council which discusses all the key issues pertaining to foreign and domestic policy and defense.... At the same time it is difficult to say who wields greater influence—Academician Shatalin, member of the Presidential Council, or Petrakov, the president's adviser on economic issues. However, in my opinion, rather than the Presidential Council which is made up of people close to the president, more importance will attach to the Council of the Federation. While the former is partly a consultative organ, the latter wields real power and bears great responsibility. Today the future structure of the Union is as yet unclear, but if the republics are granted considerable power functions, then the powers of the center will, naturally, be diminished.

[Kovalenko] In France prefects are the representatives of the central government in the provinces, the departments. Would it be expedient to introduce an institution in our country which would serve as a support of state power and the president at local level?

[Lesage] The Soviet system of management still has a long way to go to achieve stability: Problems are arising everywhere between the chairmen of soviets and executive committees, and also first secretaries of party committees in cities, oblasts, and rayons. It seems to me that a system of management based on independent local associations of citizens cannot work. If there is a central structure, both at the level of the Soviet Union itself and in the republics, then it is necessary to have a central power representative, especially where centralized investment of capital or coordination are necessary. In France prefects are responsible for questions connected with the actions of the government at local level, and they coordinate various services which fall under the jurisdiction of the central power. In the past such a system was not needed in the Soviet Union since no one had real autonomy. Now the separation of local organs from central structures is creating serious problems. Therefore the need may arise for representatives of the government at local level to implement the tasks which I have just mentioned.

[Kovalenko] In our political arena a legislative organ—the USSR Supreme Soviet—occupies a very important place while the executive remains in the background, as it were. Does this not hamper the normal functioning of the government?

[Lesage] The USSR Supreme Soviet which still has to learn how to conduct parliamentary debates, and should do so as quickly as possible, has nonetheless passed a whole series of most important laws, including laws on social organizations and the press. However, Arkadiy Volskiy has described the Soviet system as a "triangle with two angles." The first angle is formed by organs of political power—the Supreme Soviet, president, and so forth. The second angle is the trade unions and various social organizations which enable citizens to voice their opinions. But the "third angle" which should enable representatives of economic circles, and above all enterprise managers, to put forward their views, is simply missing. The task is therefore to create such a "third angle."

In France the legislature is playing a relatively limited role by dint of the fact that most draft laws are discussed

preliminarily by the government together with representatives of economic and financial circles. For instance, if a reform of the educational system is being implemented, the relevant minister initiates its preparation which includes discussions of the content of this reform with teaching staff trade unions and parent associations. Only then does the government endorse the text of the draft law and pass it on for scrutiny by a parliamentary commission. In this way every draft law is preceded by numerous consultations. In your country there have been no discussions of this kind until recently, and therefore many laws are not being translated into reality. If in the past decisions were adopted unilaterally by the administration in the Soviet Union, this has now been replaced by decisions which are equally unilaterally being adopted by people's deputies, often without preliminary discussion with the interested party.

[Kovalenko] The USSR president remains secretary general of the CPSU Central Committee, and this forces him to resolve many state problems from party positions. It cannot be ruled out that he is still partially hamstrung by the party apparatus. Perhaps in the future our president should "rise above the melee" as F. Mitterrand did at the time when, after being elected head of state he quit the post of first secretary of the Socialist Party?

[Lesage] You must not forget that Mitterrand did it in conditions of a stable system of political parties. In your country, on the other hand, parties are in a state of inception.... It cannot be ruled out that as regards this issue, Gorbachev is taking account of two factors. First, he already has a potential political rival—the chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and possibly he does not want to have another rival in the shape of the general secretary. And second, he is combining the two posts to ensure the transformation of the CPSU into a party which will, together with the other parties, embark on preparations for elections. Clearly, he believes that he can effect this transition best of all in the post of general secretary, althought he is behaving rather more like a party chairman.

Naturally, combining the two posts has its shortcomings. Gorbachev has already been accused of attending more to presidential matters than party matters. Here much will depend also on V. Ivashko, the deputy general secretary. On the whole I believe that Gorbachev has acted correctly in retaining, for the time being, the post of general secretary, and that he has remained the leader of the CPSU in order to rebuild the party around the left-of-center nucleus, ridding it of conservative forces and enabling the most reformist-minded elements to leave the party. The Politburo has lost its power function and is no longer an organ which adopts decisions concerning the fate of the state as a whole. As for the CPSU, it must above all embark on preparations for the next elections and decide with what program it will fight them.

[Kovalenko] Is Gorbachev lagging behind the development of events as is sometimes claimed in the West and even in our country?

[Lesage] I believe that this is not entirely so. As I have said before, Gorbachev has a very strong quality—the ability to sense the alignment of forces and to adapt to new situations. However, the Soviet Union is currently in a state where the political leader must be able to anticipate events. I am firmly convinced that he must play a new role if he wants to remain at the head of the perestroyka. The situation in the Soviet Union is changing extremely quickly and something that seems quite unrealistic today may be possible tomorrow. Therefore it is important for Gorbachev to be able to foresee the development of events by at least six months or a year ahead.

Economic

Gorbachev Issues Decrees for Economic Reform

Commercial Exchange Rate Set

PM2610154190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

["Presidential decree" issued by President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 26 October]

[Text] With a view to stepping up enterprises' and organizations' economic interest in and responsibility for the results of foreign economic activity, encouraging exports and rationalizing imports, creating an efficient mechanism for the redistribution of the country's foreign currency resources, and taking practical steps toward the ruble's convertibility in the conditions of transition to market relations:

1. A commercial rate for the ruble's exchange into foreign currencies, based on the rate of 1.8 rubles to $1, is to be introduced as of 1 November 1990. This rate is to be used in settlements of foreign trade transactions, foreign capital investment on USSR territory and Soviet investment abroad, and payments of a nontrade nature effected by legal persons.

The USSR State Bank will amend the commercial rate for the ruble's exchange into foreign currencies depending on changes in the value of the currencies of leading capitalist countries and other factors.

2. As of 1 January 1991, all enterprises and organizations being legal persons under Soviet legislation, are to be given the right to sell and buy foreign currency for rubles at the exchange rate prevailing on the foreign currency market whenever foreign currency deals are struck on USSR territory in the form of interbank transactions, foreign currency market transactions, auctions, and other forms permitted under current legislation.

3. The USSR Council of Ministers is to implement the necessary organizational and economic measures stemming from this decree.

[Signed] President M. Gorbachev
Moscow, the Kremlin, 26 October 1990

Decree on Foreign Investment

PM2610190690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 1

["Presidential decree" issued by President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 26 October]

[Text]With a view to stepping up the USSR's participation in world economic ties and on this basis more fully satisfying the country's requirements for products and services by bringing in foreign investments, additional material and financial resources, and advanced foreign technology and management experience, I resolve:

1. Foreign investors (legal entities and citizens) may make investments on USSR territory by means of shared participation in enterprises organized in conjunction with Soviet legal entities and citizens; acquisition of property, shares, and other securities; acquisition, individually or with the participation of Soviet legal entities and citizens, of land-use and other property rights, including acquisition of long-term leasing rights, in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and Union and autonomous republics.

Enterprises with foreign investments are set up in any of the forms stipulated by the legislation of the USSR and Union and autonomous republics.

2. Investors (legal entities and citizens) may set up on USSR territory enterprises in which foreign investments account for 100 percent of the property. Such enterprises are legal entities under Soviet legislation.

3. Foreign investments on USSR territory enjoy legal protection, and their status may not be less favorable than the corresponding status for the property of Soviet enterprises and organizations and USSR citizens.

4. The profits in Soviet currency made by foreign investors in the USSR may be freely reinvested and used on USSR territory in accordance with the legislation of the USSR and Union republics, and also transferred abroad under the procedure established by USSR legislation.

5. With a view to stepping up joint business activity with foreign investors in individual regions of the USSR, joint enterprise zones may be set up.

The procedure for economic activity by Soviet enterprises and enterprises with foreign investment and the concessions granted to them in each such zone are specified by the legislation of the USSR and Union and autonomous republics and by decisions of the relevant soviets of people's deputies within the bounds of their competence.

[Signed] President M. Gorbachev
Moscow, the Kremlin, 26 October 1990

Decree on Citizens' Saving

PM2710150690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

["Presidential decree" issued by President Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow on 25 October]

[Text] In accordance with the Basic Guidelines for the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to a Market Economy approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet and with a view to increasing citizens' interest in keeping their savings in USSR Savings Bank institutions and ensuring that investors' interests are protected, I resolve that:

1. The USSR Savings Bank's status as a state institution will be maintained and the state guarantee for citizens' deposits reaffirmed.

2. Interest rates paid by USSR Savings Bank institutions for term deposits will be increased as of 1 November 1990, depending on the term for which funds are invested.

The USSR State Bank and USSR Savings Bank will set specific interest rate scales.

3. The USSR Savings Bank will improve the quality of its service to the public and take measures to expand the sphere of services it offers, to promote new ways of attracting citizens' available funds, to develop credit transactions, and to improve its money lending to the public.

4. Taking account of the new interest rate policy, the USSR Ministry of Finance and the USSR Savings Bank will make the necessary changes to the terms of the 1982 State Domestic Prize Loan and USSR Savings Bank certificates.

5. As of 1 November 1990 the USSR State Bank will introduce new interest rates for deposits from and loans to enterprises, organizations, and institutions.

[Signed] President M. Gorbachev
Moscow, the Kremlin, 25 October 1990

Upgraded Hydroelectric Station Increases Capacity

PM2610115790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Report by D. Beybutov and V. Mamiyev from Dagestan; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpt] The collective at the Chirkey GES [hydroelectric power station] is quite used to dealing with difficulties. All four of its hydroelectric generating units have been modernized. And now its planned capacity of 1 million kilowatts has been increased by another 100,000 kilowatts. Many other types of equipment have been upgraded through the collective's own efforts. Now there is the following piece of news: This major GES—part of the integrated North Caucasus power grid—has brought on line automated technological process management

systems. Incidentally, these have no counterpart at any of the country's other high-output hydroelectric stations. [passage omitted]

Agricultural

Total Grain Harvest Reaches 231 Million Tonnes

PM2610142590 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by N. Osychkin under the rubric "USSR State Committee for Statistics Reports": "Autumn's Stern Demands"]

[Text] In the fall every hour is precious to farmers. And this year too a brief mild spell has been followed by cold, rain, and frosts. But there is still a lot of work to do in the fields. As of 22 October, 1.5 million hectares of grain crops remained to be threshed. During the last week only 800,000 hectares were harvested. Throughout the country as a whole, an average of 22 quintals of grain per hectare has been threshed. The figure last year was 18.6 quintals. The gross grain harvest (including corn) has reached 231 million tonnes—25 million tonnes more than in 1989.

Taking into account repaid borrowings, 64.9 million tonnes of grain—75 percent of the state order—have gone into the state's stocks. During the past week, grain reception enterprises unloaded only 1.2 million tonnes, including 0.7 million in the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and 0.3 million in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Many farms are still in a position to sell considerable quantities of grain to the state, and the necessary economic preconditions have been created for this.

Grain corn has been threshed from 1.5 million hectares—37 percent of the sown area. Just over 1 million hectares remains to be harvested, allowing for crops that have died and harvesting for silage. The yield totals 35.8 quintals per hectare.

Sunflowers have been harvested from 3.2 million hectares—71 percent of the sown area. A yield of 16.5 quintals per hectare has been obtained, and 5,245,000 tonnes of oil seed has been harvested.

Some 7,689,000 tonnes of raw cotton has been purchased. This is 98 percent of the plan and 432,000 tonnes more than last year. The Kirghiz, Uzbek, and Turkmen SSR's have fulfilled their cotton purchase plans. Some 549,000 hectares of long-stemmed flax has been pulled. Some 69,000 hectares of sowings remain to be harvested.

Sugar beet has been harvested from 2.6 million hectares—80 percent of the sown area. Some 69.9 millions tonnes of roots have been dug for a yield of 269 quintals per hectare. Some 59.5 million tonnes of roots have been purchased—77 percent of the contracted total. Some 27.6 million tonnes of sugar beet have been refined and 3,189,000 tonnes of sugar produced—51,000 tonnes more than by the same time in 1989. But in the RSFSR, unfortunately, around 10,000 trucks needed to ship out the beets have not arrived to date.

Vegetables have been harvested from 806,000 hectares—78 percent of the sown area. Potatoes have been dug from 2 million hectares—89 percent of the planted area. In the RSFSR potatoes have been harvested from 1,075,000 hectares. This represents 85 percent of the total planted.

According to current data, about 8 million tonnes of seed potatoes have been laid in toward a requirement of 9.6 million. There is still a great shortage of seed on farms in Pskov, Vologda, Ivanovo, Novgorod, Nizhegorod, Moscow, Tver, Kirov, and other oblasts.

Agricultural Developments for 21-27 Oct

LD2810030790

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 21-27 October, unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

21-22 October

No significant developments reported.

23 October

The cotton growers of Uzbekistan have raised a good cotton harvest and successfully met the state order. Already almost 4.8 million tonnes of raw cotton have reached procurement points. (0700)

24 October

No significant developments reported.

25 October

The fifth million tonne of cotton was put into bails today in Tashkent. (1000)

26 October

The republic has gathered nearly 7 million tonnes of grain. Not all crops have been cut as yet. All oblasts have fulfilled their contractual obligations for the delivery of grain to receiving points. Farms of the republic have delivered 1.139 million tonnes of grain, over one-half of this amount is rye.

Things are much worse with the delivery of potatoes. Only one-quarter of the designated amount has been sold to the state. (Minsk Domestic Service in Belorussian) (1600)

27 October

No significant developments reported.

Weather and Crop Report for Mid-October

PM2810143890 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 26 Oct 90 p 3

[Report by agrometeorologist T. Rossinskaya: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] Over most of the USSR's European territory, moderately warm, mainly dry weather prevailed in the second 10-day period of October. The conditions improved somewhat for completing the harvesting of late agricultural crops. However, in the northern half of the territory, excessive moisture in the top stratum of the soil created difficulties for agricultural machines. Air and ground frosts of between minus one and minus five degrees were recorded everywhere, going as low as minus nine in places.

There was a possibility of damage to unharvested root crops and tubers, and to other unharvested vegetables in the Northern Caucasus and the Lower Volga. In the last few days of the period temperatures fell in the majority of regions, there was precipitation in the form of rain and wet snow, and conditions for completing harvesting operations again deteriorated sharply. The area north of the Urals and Volga-Vyatka Regions and over most of the Northern Region was snow covered.

In the east of the Northern Region and the northern half of the Urals Region winter grain crops were in a state of winter dormancy for most of the 10-day period, and under a snow cover by the end. The depth of the snow was generally one to five cm, and six to 10 cm in places. The minimum soil temperature at tillering node depth for winter grain crops was between zero and minus three.

Over most of the territory of the Baltic Region, Belorussia, and the Northwestern, Central, and Central Chernozem Regions, and also in the Middle Volga, warm weather promoted the growth and development of winter grain crops.

In the northern half of the Ukraine and over most of the territory of the North Caucasus Region, for the most part 20-25 mm of productive moisture was retained in the cultivated stratum of the soil under winter grain crops. Winter crops sown prior to 15 September had formed tillers. Later sowings were in the shoot and third leaf phases.

In a number of rayons of Moldova [Moldavia] and southern oblasts of the Ukraine, in the east of the North Caucasus Region, and also over most of the territory of the Kalmyk ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and Astrakhan Oblast, where amounts of precipitation did not exceed five mm, reserves of productive moisture in the cultivated stratum of the soil declined, falling to eight to 15 mm and in places less than five mm. Conditions for seed germination and the emergence of shoots in winter grain crops deteriorated here.

Over most of the territory of Western Siberia winter grain crops were growing in the first half of the 10-day period. They were mainly in the tillering phase. At the end of the 10-day period temperatures here fell. The vegetative growth of winter crops stopped. A thin (one to three cm) snow cover formed almost everywhere.

In the Transcaucasian republics the growth and development of winter grain crops proceeded mainly in good conditions as regards availability of heat and moisture.

In Central Asia warm weather prevailed in the first half of the 10-day period. Temperatures then fell sharply. There was rain everywhere, turning into snow in places, and strong winds were observed. The rain caused difficulties in cotton harvesting. Frosts (between minus two and minus six degrees, and down to minus nine in places) damaged the cotton bolls and unharvested heat-loving vegetable and fruit crops. There is also a possibility of catarrhal diseases in shorn sheep.

Military

7 Nov Red Square Parade To Feature SS-25's

PM2810192890 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 28 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by correspondent Major A. Dolinin: "For the First Time, SS-25 Ballistic Missiles Will Parade Through Red Square"]

[Excerpts] In accordance with the presidential decree, a military parade to mark the 73d anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution will take place in Red Square on 7 November. For the first time, the ICBM's known in the West as SS-25's will take part. [passage omitted]

The very fact of the participation of modern strategic missiles in the parade and the openness with which we are to show them is, I believe, a sign of the times and an aspect of the new thinking. The last time similar weapons were shown was 15 years ago. [passage omitted]

And another, prosaic, note. The missile men value their time and know how to look after public money. Therefore, their preparations for the parade have been incorporated into planned combat training.

Generals Discuss Parade Cost

LD2610135990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] The Militar Parade '90: What It Will Be Like—this was the news conference held today in the parade area—the simple name for the (Khodynskoye) field were exercises take place—with all the combat equipment on display. [passage omitted]

In answering questions on parade costs, the generals said no additional resources are being spent on the parade. It is financed entirely by the usual budget for combat exercises and training and is part of the training plan.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] What new technology will be on exhibit at the parade?

[A.K. Burtsev, deputy chief of the Moscow military okrug] The decision has been made. No one should question this since our Soviet people must know, for example, how their money is spent. There is now a great deal of talk about the quality of arms, and for this reason strategic missile troops and launchers are being exhibited. [end recording]

Peace Committee Expresses Concern on Nuclear Tests

LD2510230490 Moscow World Service in English 2200 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] The Soviet Peace Committee has expressed profound concern over the underground nuclear test in the Nordic Novaya Zemlya archipelago on Wednesday [24 Oct].

The committee points out in a statement that the resumption of nuclear testing by the Soviet Union after a one-year break runs counter to the recent appeal by the Soviet parliament to the parliaments and governments around the world for a comprehensive nuclear test ban.

The Soviet public has also condemned the seven nuclear tests conducted by the United States, the four French explosions, and the two Chinese tests.

No Increase in Radiation Detected

LD2610213390 Moscow TASS in English 2119 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 26 TASS—According to the information of the ground observation network of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, no growth of radioactivity was registered in the Arkhangelsk and Murmansk regions and the Nenets national district after an underground nuclear explosion at the Novaya Zemlya test site, conducted on October 24.

The radiation level in the cities of Arkhangelsk, Severodvinsk, Naryan-Mar and Vorkuta, and villages located on the coast of the White and Barents Seas was from six to 15 microroentgen after the explosion (the figure for the Murmansk region is close to 19), which did not exceed the level registered before the explosion.

A laboratory plane of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology, which monitored the radiation of the atmosphere over the mainland south of the Novaya Zemlya island in the Arkhangelsk—Naryan-Mar—Vorkuta—Kamennyy Cape—Pechora—Ukhta—Perm area, did not register the exceeding of the radiation levels over the background values.

Baltic Republics

Baltic Bankers Plan To Overcome USSR 'Diktat'

LD2610233790 Vilnius International Service in English 2230 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Managers of the central banks of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia have agreed upon joint action in order to overcome the diktat of Soviet Union's Central Bank.

At the meeting held in Tallinn, two interim programs were drawn up envisaging reforms in the banking system and tendencies of its development.

Representatives from Georgia, Moldova, the Ukraine, and Belorussia attended the meeting as observers. They expressed their wish to join the cooperation program after independent banks have been set up in their republics, too.

Lithuanian Delegation Travels to Moscow for Talks

Landsbergis Appears on TV

LD2610234590 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis was in Moscow today.

In the morning he visited the Swiss Embassy and met with European Council Vice President Peter Tager. Tager is also chairman of the commission for links with the European countries outside the European Council.

In the evening, Vytautas Landsbergis participated in the "Who Is Who" program broadcast on the Soviet Union's main television channel. For the whole hour, the chairman of the Lithuanian parliament spoke without any restrictions about history, the present day, and the future of Lithuania, explaining a lot of points to millions of Soviet television viewers. Speaking about the development of Lithuanian-Soviet relations, he drew an analogy with Kuwait and Iraq. It was felt that some questions, allegedly asked from Lithuania, were devised in Moscow itself. Apart from that, journalist Viktor Lyubovtsev, who conducted the interview, was making important factual mistakes, like stating the number of Russians residing in Klaipeda. Having demonstrated his excellent knowledge of the Russian language, Vytautas Landsbergis answered all the questions fluently, freely, and with solid argumentation. That was his first opportunity to make a direct address to the citizens of the Soviet Union.

Joint Working Group To Meet 29 Oct

LD2610234390 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] We have information from sources in Vilnius and Moscow that a meeting of the joint Lithuanian-Soviet working group for the preparation of talks has been scheduled for next Monday [29 October] and in the Soviet capital. Questions relating to the protocol of the beginning of the negotiations are to be discussed at the meeting.

It was agreed at the last consultative meeting on 2 October that such a protocol would be worked out within 10 days. Lithuania is seeking to have a protocol which would specify the time, the place, the terms, and the goals of the upcoming negotiations. The goals seem to be the main point of difference in the stands of the two countries.

As we have already told our listseners, certain progress has been achieved in the work of the commissioned experts groups dealing with the issue of military service of Lithuanian youths in the Soviet Army. The head of the Soviet expert group, Gen. Moiseyev, has verbally promised that Lithuanian youths who refuse to be drafted will not be prosecuted. The two sides also agreed not to hinder each other in the propaganda campaign aimed at the population on the drafting age. Those two expert groups aimed to meet next week again in order to discuss the problems of those young men who abandoned their military units. Then, approximately a week later, the range of problems relating to the presence of Soviet troops in Lithuania is to be considered.

As is known, Lithuania and the Soviet Union have agreed to begin their official negotiations at the end of November.

Rzhkov on Progress of Talks

PM2810204290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Oct 90 Moscow Edition p 1

[Report by A. Protsenko: "Moscow-Vilnius: Talks Will Begin at End of November"]

[Text] Despite being Saturday, it was almost a full working day—the second consultative meeting between the Soviet and Lithuanian delegations headed by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council, lasted from 1100-1800 GMT on 20 October. Right after the meeting the head of the USSR Government held a news conference at which he talked about some of the results of the talks.

These were indeed real talks, although the Lithuanian side prefers to call them consultations. The republic's new leaders are obviously very eager to observe form—including acting by international protocol as High Contracting Parties. Practical results are more important for the other side—USSR Government leaders—as Ryzhkov's answers to journalists' questions revealed.

Results have already been attained. In particular, a previously contentious issue has been resolved—participants in the Great Patriotic War resident in Lithuania will have the same privileges as all residents of the Soviet Union. The Lithuanian delegation guaranteed this.

On the other hand, no acceptable solution has yet been found to another and more serious question—the draft of Lithuanian citizens into the USSR Armed Forces. The

Lithuanian side has proposed that, beginning with the fall draft this year, the principle of free will as regards military service should operate on the republic's territory—with no steps being taken against young men who refuse to serve in the Army. The Union government's response was that the Lithuanian republic is part of the Soviet Union which has a Constitution and a Law on Universal Military Service. The USSR Government, according to Ryzhkov, may meet them halfway and consider the question of some young men drafted in Lithuania serving in their own republic. But the most important thing is not to violate fundamental principles.

Talks on this question will continue.

Problems of economic relations between the Union and Lithuania in 1991 were examined in great detail. In Ryzhkov's opinion, the Lithuanian leadership has frequently said that the republic's economic position next year is a great source of alarm to it. But they are doing virtually nothing to solve the problem. This time Lithuania was warned that it either stays within the USSR national economic complex and the questions then have to be solved by the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee] and other central economic departments, or else it says that it is no longer a part of this complex and resolves its problems independently.

Ryzhkov said the Lithuanian side was on the point of voicing its intention to manage with "horizontal ties" alone with the 12 Union republics—minus the Baltic region—and conduct its entire economy via direct treaties. But it asked whether the USSR Government will act as guarantor of these direct ties. This was refused. The upshot is that Lithuania's representatives will come to Moscow within the next few days to coordinate all questions of the republic's economic ties with the USSR.

But all these questions relate to today and do not solve the main question: How will the USSR's relations develop with the Lithuanian republic? According to Ryzhkov, there are approximately 10 fundamental questions which require that interests be coordinated. They include property, borders, and citizens' rights and freedoms. That is why the USSR Government is interested in the speediest start to full-blown negotiations. But Moscow is getting the impression that, whereas Vilnius was previously in a great hurry, the Lithuanian side is now delaying the talks on all manner of pretexts.

Nevertheless, the sides agreed at this meeting that official talks between Lithuania and the USSR will begin toward the end of November.

Admittedly the sides still have to agree to a protocol, and difficulties may occur there too. In particular, Moscow is insisting that representatives of various groups of the Lithuanian population—social movements and ethnic minorities, labor collectives, and state enterprises—attend the talks as nonvoting observers. Official Vilnius is categorically opposed to that.

"We do not understand why the Lithuanian side is taking such a hard line," N.I. Ryzhkov said. "Why cannot three or four people attend as observers? They would not have the right to vote but would at least hear what is being said and could express their ideas. It is up to the official delegations to decide whether or not to accept those ideas."

As journalists have been told, the USSR Government considers this hard line by Lithuania to be undemocratic and unacceptable.

Answering journalists' questions, the Soviet head of government noted that in his opinion, the Basic Guidelines on the Stabilization of the National Economy and the Transition to the Market Economy adopted by the country's parliament could be the factor to strengthen the link among the republics belonging to the Union. Life has shown that political ambitions end when they come face to face with real economic problems. But the national economy of the union republics is so integrated that no one can survive alone. The principles enshrined in the Basic Guidelines are acceptable to all the republics, including Lithuania.

But when commenting on the report that Lithuania intends to introduce its own currency, N.I. Ryzhkov said: "In that event there will not be a single economic space with our country for the Lithuanian economy. If they introduce their own unit of currency they will have to switch to entirely different relations with the other republics and the USSR as a whole."

The Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers stressed that in the present situation, Lithuania, other republics, and the entire Soviet Union need at least a certain stabilization and a certain breathing space in order to restructure the economy and begin a real move toward the market.

Lithuania Warns Enterprise Decision 'Illegal'

LD2710165990 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The government of the republic of Lithuania today appealed to the heads and workers of enterprises on the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the enterprises under the so-called all-Union subordination located on the territory of Lithuania, which reorganizes the enterprises into joint stock companies.

The government of the republic of Lithuania says this decision by the USSR Council of Ministers is illegal and contradicts the laws of the republic of Lithuania. The above-mentioned document changes the form of the ownership of the enterprises, and this can be decided only as a result of the negotiations between the republic of Lithuania and the USSR.

The Lithuanian government regards the above-mentioned decision of the USSR Council of Ministers as

interference in the internal affairs of the republic of Lithuania. The Lithuanian government appeals to the workers of enterprises and their leaders to evaluate the stated motives and not to take any actions inspired by the decision of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The appeal is signed by Kazimiera Prunskiene, prime minister of the republic of Lithuania.

Text of Decalration

LD2610215290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 2000 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Today ELTA carried a statement by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania which says:

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania has acquainted itself with decision No. 1070 of the USSR Council of Ministers of 23 October 1990, on the reorganization of the Union state enterprises, associations, and organizations located on the territory of Soviet Lithuania into joint stock companies, according to which the so-called enterprises under the Union administration on the territory of Lithuania become joint stock companies, forming at the same time the Lithuanian Association of Free Entrepreneurs, and states:

1. The aforementioned decision by the Soviet Union Council of Ministers contradicts the provisional basic law of the Republic of Lithuania, the law on enterprises of the Republic of Lithuania, the law on state enterprises of the Republic of Lithuania, and the resolution by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania dated 13 March 1990, and is legally invalid.

2. The Soviet Union Council of Ministers is responsible for possible losses suffered by shareholders and other persons or organizations attempting to implement this decision.

Ruutel Scores 'Subversive' Army Radio

LD2610170590 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1400 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Arnold Ruutel, chairman of the Estonian Supreme Soviet, has sent a telegram to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. The telegram informs of the subversive activity of the pirate radio station Nadezhda on the republic's territory. In addition the radio also causes damage to the health of the people living close to the station.

The telegram notes that the Nadezhda station transmitter activity on the territory of the Keila tank regiment serves as direct Soviet Army interference in Estonian political life. The Estonian Supreme Soviet expects President Gorbachev to understand the situation and to issue an order on halting the activity of Nadezhda, which operates on the territory of a unit in the Army which is subordinate to him.

Estonia Unable To Pay for New Banknotes

914A0048A Moscow TRUD in Russian 25 Oct 90 p 1

[POSTFAKTUM report: "The Crown is Ready, But...."]

[Text] Bank of Estonia President Rein Otsasson was forced to announce that the bank lacks the sum of 162,500 hard currency rubles to pay for the printing of the first set of Estonian monetary unit—the kroon.

The bank president said that a letter was sent to the state on 1 August indicating the necessity of transferring money to the Western partner's account. The letter stated that the final payment was due on 30 September.

Otsasson said that the kroons are already printed but have not been delievered to Estonia. The bank president thinks that the Estonian currency will be put into circulation no sooner than in half a year. According to unofficial sources, the Estonian kroon is being printed in the United States.

Estonian People's Front Chairman Interviewed

LD2610131390 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Excerpts] Tomorrow the third session of the Estonian Congress will open. In this connection the Council of the Estonian People's Front also voiced its stance on the Estonian Congress today. Neeme Brus is just back from the meeting. [passage omitted]

[Brus] Debates at today's meeting before the document was completed took three and a half hours. I have asked Kostel Gerndorf, the chair of the board of the Estonian People's Front, to comment on the given document.

[Begin Gerndorf recording] It seems to me that we finally reached a stance which is balanced and which proceeds from the present political situation. The Estonian People's Front will take part in the work of the third session of the Estonian Congres but depending on what the whole atmosphere of the congress will turn out to be like we will take the opportunity to choose what we will do next. This is indeed a very important issue in Estonian politics and we hope that we will also be able to find here a solution which proceeds from the interests of the Estonian people. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Conflict on Estonian Economic Law 'More Acute'

LD2610134690 Tallinn Domestic Service in Estonian 1800 GMT 24 Oct 90

[Text] The conflict that has arisen around the Republic of Estonia law on the economic border between Narva and Toompea continues and is becoming more acute.

According to assurances to an ESTONIAN TELEGRAPH AGENCY correspondent from Vladimir Tsuykin, chairman of the Narva town council, the town's emergency headquarters, which has been set up by a resolution of the town council, believes it necessary to

warn state bodies of the Republic of Estonia that an order has been issued to the Narva town department of internal affairs and the executive committee to forbid the setting up of any kind of unit, service, or establishment to comply with the law on the border or to change the border between Estonia and Russia.

The department of internal affairs—to avert any incidents—has received an order not to allow any military or other type of unit on the territory of the Narva town council if this has not been agreed with the town council. The situation could become extremely tense, warns Vladimir Tsuykin, chairman of Narva town council.

RSFSR

RSFSR Council Adopts Land Reform Bill

LD2610230890

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television in Russian at 1910 GMT on 26 October carries a recorded report on the 26 October session of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, Council of the Republic in Moscow. Session proceedings are devoted to land reform legislation and land use regulation.

(?Estakhov), chairing the meeting, introduces Deputy (?Konev), who presents a bill on land reform. The bill envisages ownership of land, payment for land, and the right to leave it. (?Konev) says a bill on peasant farming envisages a procedure for peasants leaving farms and acquiring land.

The state monopoly on land will be annulled and two forms of ownership—state and private—are to be introduced. Land can be sold to individuals for individual labor activity, for housing construction, and for other activities.

An unidentified deputy asks if the experience of foreign countries has been taken into account in the bill, and if the bill takes into account amendments connected with land as well as with monuments of historical and architectual interest. (?Konev) says all this is taken into account.

Deputy (Maley) then takes the floor and notes the need for a market economy and a law on land. He is followed by (?Estakhov) who announces that the RSFSR Council of the Republic has decreed that the bill on land reform and the restoration of rural areas and the development of the agroindustrial complex was adopted at its first reading.

Russian Legislature at Odds Over 'Primacy'

PM2610102190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Oct 90 Second Edition p 1

[Report by N. Garifullina: "At the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Session; How To Protect Sovereignty"]

[Text] The first item on the agenda of yesterday's sitting of the Russian parliament session was discussion of the draft law "On the Operation of USSR Organs' Acts on RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Territory." The draft was presented by S.M. Shakray, chairman of the Committee for Legislation. He concentrated his attention on three questions: Why this law is needed at this particular time; why it is correct to talk of the primacy of Russian Federation laws over USSR laws; and whether Union organs have the right to repeal, suspend, or declare invalid any RSFSR law, in particular the one called to the deputies' attention. The point is that the USSR Supreme Soviet has adopted the "Basic Guidelines for Stabilizing the Economy and Switching to the Market," and that document thereby provides for the "transfer to Union republics of a part of the external debt and a part of the budget deficit, the transfer of social programs, and, naturally, responsibility for fulfilling them." But S.M. Shakray said that resources, finances, and currency—everything remains with the center. In other words, responsibility and debts are being divided among republics while real power remains exclusively with the center. In such conditions mechanisms are needed to protect the Russian Federation from center decisions which go against the interests of the peoples of Russia and which undermine the foundations of the RSFSR's sovereignty.

Incidentally, the draft law, which was presented before the sitting actually began, provoked a multitude of questions. Deputy V.N. Silayev expressed the completely reasonable fear that if such a mechanism to protect Russia's precedence is adopted, then the Supreme Soviet will be involved only in ratifying Union legislative acts and will be trailing behind events. "The last part of Section Two indicates that all ministry and department acts are subject to ratification, but hundreds of them come out every day. What should the ratification mechanism be? All the indications are that it will be necessary to create the same bureaucratic system that exists in the Soviet Union," Deputy V.A. Grachev asks. "And what will we do if a presidential decree on the repeal of our repeal is published in response to our repeal?"

The debate intensified with a new vigor during the discussion. Suffice it to say that 39 people requested to speak and 14 spoke, but it was clear almost from the very beginning that two basic viewpoints with certain variations are prevailing. V.B. Isakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic, contributed a number of substantial comments, proposing his version of the draft law. But many deputies are concerned over whether the law will lead to a new confrontation between the Russian Parliament and the center. In particular, Deputy A.G. Selivanov thinks that Russia does need such a law, but only after the Union treaty is concluded. Today's draft law is evidence of the fact that we are single-mindedly heading step by step toward the Union's disintegration. While there is no Union treaty, the concept of "sovereignty" is handled like the shaft on a cart: You can turn it whichever way you like. But Russia is not a cart, and the peoples of Russia are already tired of the jockeying between Union and Russian legislators for so-called primacy; this is all we are concerned with, A.G. Selivanov said bitterly.

During the interval I asked M.A. Mityukov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Legislation, to comment on the course of the debate and the draft law itself.

"That a law is needed which would define how Union laws operate on Russian Federation territory is an indisputable question both for me and for the deputies participating in the discussion. The constitution must be changed for this, but only the RSFSR Congress of People's Deputies has the right to do that; moreover, by two-thirds of its members' votes. I am not an opponent of the draft law, but it must be adopted by legal and lawful means that do not undermine the authority of the supreme organ of power."

There is also another aspect. Many deputies said that adoption of the law will introduce a destabilizing element into the Russian Federation and could affect its integrity and the law and order situation. The autonomous entities will follow our example and adopt similar laws. It must be said that the fear was a serious one. The autonomies have gotten used to thinking in the old way, that is to repeating Russian legislation and tailoring it to their own territory. This is an aspect of the old politics. But now a new aspect has appeared—republics' claim to state sovereignty. Therefore adoption of this law could entail the adoption of similar laws in Karelia, the Komi Republic, and others for instance. Such a reality is not precluded.

A last thing. A number of people's deputies speeches, notably S.N. Baburin's, expressed alarm that adoption of such a law actually means secession from the USSR. This conclusion is correct to some extent, but not completely. The juridical adoption of this law means the creation of two autonomous legal systems independent of each other: USSR legislation and Russian Federation legislation, and this is an element of a fully independent state. Of course the draft law does not envisage the breaking of economic, business, and other links between the USSR and RSFSR, but in the sphere of legislation such a break has been contemplated. Therefore it is necessary to define in the future constitution and Union treaty precisely which Union legislative acts will extend across the country's territory without ratification and which will apply only after ratification, to establish which acts could be suspended, and to submit the question of their repeal to the USSR. These three problems are problems for the future constitutions and the Union treaty.

The Soviet of the Republic voted for adoption of the draft law by a small majority; the Soviet of Nationalities did not adopt it. It was decided to draw up a differently worded draft based on V.B. Isakov's speech.

Yeltsin Rejects 'Ridiculous' Health Rumors

LD2810055190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2246 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin, president of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, by correspondent P. Gusev at Kislovodsk sanatorium on 27 October; from the "Television News Service" program presented by Yuriy Rostov—recorded]

[Text] [Rostov] We are still getting questions about Boris Yeltsin's health. We ask viewers not to worry. Now he is on vacation and is relaxing in Kislovodsk.

[Guskov] This scene at a Kislovodsk sanatorium is being repeated for the ninth time, and today is Saturday, 27 October. People come here to take a look at Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the more so since the most ridiculous rumors have been spreading about his health. And every stroll turns into work. There are a lot of questions and the answers are extremely detailed. Boris Nikolayevich's interlocutors are interested in guarantees for the Russian-speaking population in the Union republics, the fate of the 500 days program, the role of youth today, and how Russia's pension legislation is being evolved.

[Yeltsin] Yes?

[Guskov] Television News Service. Your....

[Yeltsin] Me? Moscow!

[Guskov] Yes. [laughter from crowd] But just the one! Anyway....

[Yeltsin] You only arrive when there is another rumor that I have died. [laughter from crowd] Well, I die every three days as far as rumors are concerned.

[Guskov] So evidently the rumors are unfounded.

[Yeltsin] Well, as Mark Twain said, the rumors of my death are somewhat exaggerated!

[Guskov] Thank you.

[Yeltsin] Yes.

RSFSR's Silayev Answers TV Viewers' Questions

LD2810222190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0920 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Program with Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, RSFSR, answering viewer questions; from the "Soviet Russia" feature of the "Community Channel" program—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Dear comrades, good evening. In the Far East it must be evening already, I think! As promised, our studio guest today is Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers. We had good reason to invite him to our studio today because the topic of our discussion will be "Russia before the start." I would like to launch straight in and ask Ivan Stepanovich a question while I have a chance. What sort of start is Russia about to make? In sports you can have a crouch start or a standing start. The crouch start is when the athlete is to run a short distance, and a standing

start when there is a long distance to run. What sort of start is Russia going to make?

[Silayev] Thank you. In sporting terms, we shall have to cover a combined distance. As far as I know, a crouch start means positioning himself on one knee. Russia today and our economy could be said to be almost on both knees. We need to get up first of all, and then get under way. So from the point of view of how energetic the start must be, we are determined to have a crouch start. But at the same time, it is a marathon distance!

[Announcer] Marathon! Will Russia manage with the 500 days proclaimed in the 500 days program?

[Silayev] We have set ourselves the task of doing much of what Russia and the Russian people need in 500 days. But that does not mean that the 500 days will mark the full completion of the transition stage from ruin to prosperity. It will be a stage at which we will be aiming to achieve a revival of the economy and an improvement in the lives of the working people.

[Announcer] Ivan Stepanovich, a few questions—not on the subject of our conversation, but I would like you to answer them all the same. They are from Lyudmila Valentinovna Manayeva from Nizhniy Novgorod who says: Terrible rumors about the health of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin have been circulating as recently as yesterday. On behalf of the people of our city, could you say something about this? And the other question is from Yuriy Nikrandrovich Shurnin from Sverdlovsk oblast: When will Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin be provided with protection? Why did the Gorkiy works refuse to make armorplated cars for you and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin? Why not have the steel supplied from the Urals, for instance? Well, these questions deal with side issues to a certain extent, but perhaps you could give a reply?

[Silayev] First of all, the rumors. Regrettably, rumors are not surprising in this day and age. The most improbable things are being said. Fortunately, I have to say say that these rumors are groundless. Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is well, but on doctor's orders he is now simply taking a rest before going back to active work. We are in touch with him. I spoke to him yesterday. He is alive and well. There are no doubts on this score today.

As far as security is concerned, certain security measures have been taken. It is quite proper. With regard to the Gorkiy works, these are also rumors to a certain extent. I have asked the director, Comrade Bezyayev, about this. The order he received was not for armorplated vehicles, but for Volga cars fitted with the appropriate communications equipment. He simply asked for additional specifications to be supplied about the sort of communications equipment that needed to be installed. Time was needed for that. He did not refuse.

[Announcer] Thank you. Nina Petrovna Ivanovna from Moscow asks: What blueprint will be followed in putting enterprises that are part of Union ministries under republican jurisdiction, and when is it planned to do this? And here is a second question, perhaps linked with this: How does the president's decree on maintaining contractual deliveries at the 1990 level tie up with the economic contracts the Russian republic previously signed with other Union republics?

[Silayev] First of all, I would like to set out our principled position and explain what the transfer from Union subordination to republican jurisdiction means. We are opposed to administrative methods. We back economic methods. So in our republican context, in our work program for 1991, we envisage tax allowances on profits for enterprises which are under republican jurisdiction and under local soviets, and also enterprises which are leaving union industries and are becoming economically independent. We intend to reduce their tax on profits from 45 to 38 percent. We reckon this will provide an incentive for Union enterprises, and we would like them to switch more decisively to independent economic existence and functioning on Russian territory.

[Announcer] The second question as on how the president's decree on maintaining contractual deliveries at the 1990 levels ties in. I think this is also linked with another question from Natalya Sergeyevna Ivanova.

[Silayev] Yes. This one was from Nina Petrovna Ivanova in Moscow.

[Announcer] Yes, they are all called Ivanova! Why was the issue of new meat procurement prices not agreed with the authors of the Shatalin-Yavlinksiy programe, something that has brought about a sharp deterioration of the situation at the outset of the program and an exacerbation of the general economic situation? These two questions are of course linked. Could I ask you to deal with them in greater detail?

[Silayev] Fine. First of all, all of us—economists, economic managers, and leaders—want there to be good order and discipline in this country, and all our working people and citizens also want this. They are even demanding this from us. One of the most important issues is discipline in meeting delivery orders. Regrettably, the deterioration of the economic condition of the national economy has recently to a large extent been the reason for poor discipline and sometimes deliberate nonfulfillment of obligations. This is unacceptable. So as far as that is concerned, the president's decree on maintaining established links is quite apt and proper, and this is not at variance with our bilateral agreements with the union republics. One of the most important points of all our agreements, and we have now signed agreements of this sort with the majority of republics, is a mutual obligation to maintain existing horizontal links and to promote them as much as possible. So we are not in conflict with one another here.

[Announcer] Yet the meat procurement prices were raised. This aroused a whole storm of reservations.

[Silayev] Yes, I would like to deal with this now. It is a fundamentally important issue. According to the way public

opinion is going today, allegedly deliberate wildcat actions of the Russian leadership are seen as the main culprit, as it were, for this whole process of rising prices—and not just meat prices—and the spiralling inflation. It is not so. I have to deal with this in detail here.

Inflationary processes, price rises, and the increase in shortages, particularly of consumer goods, began back in the spring when the intention to raise retail prices was announced. It was a strong spur to hoarding and to creating severe shortages. Decisions were then taken at Union level to increase grain procurement prices. This was brought in from 1 July. At the same time it was announced that procurement prices for other agricultural products, including meat, would also be brought in from 1 January 1991.

A sitution arose in which all these actions also naturally gave a boost to inflationary processes, and as far as meat was concerned what emerged was simply a critical situation. Knowing that from 1 January 1991 they could get two or three times more for their meat than now, peasants, collective farmers, and private individuals quite simply stopped sellig meat. Our cities and major industrial centers—Moscow, Leningrad, and northern regions—virtually found themselves on the verge of a situation where there was no meat at all. In this situation we were compelled to increase procurement prices. It was a forced measure.

One has to agree that it did make its contribution to this process, but we object categorically to the claim that we initiated all these measures. These are forced meaures. Incidentally, these procurement prices will only remain at this level until 15 December. This was just a temporary, seasonal measure designed to create the necessary conditions for meat to be supplied to our procurement centers.

[Announcer] As of 1 January there will also be....

[Silayev, interrupting] These measures will come to an end on 15 December.

[Announcer] But new ones start on 1 January.

[Silayev] New Union-wide prices have been declared as of 1 January.

[Announcer] Here is a general question: The 500 days program is already unfulfillable, says Vladimir Nikolayevich Vasilyevskiy. What program has now been adopted? Well this is a rather categorical statement; I think it is not quite proper—and yet....

[Silayev] Okay, I think this concerns many of our fellow Russian citizens. At this point I must say the following: of course the USSR Supreme Soviet spent a long time examining one program, another, a third; this led to the 500 days program, approved by the Russian legislature, being put behind in its implementation schedule. So the final decision at the end of October, the Basic Guidlines, naturally led to—on a background of the growing processes of inflation and devaluation of money—the first stage, the first 100 days envisaging the stabilization of prices and to a certain degree a movement toward stabilizing the ruble, which in fact became complicated and practically impossible. That is the first stage of this program is put in doubt. But this does not mean that all the other stages are also ruined and that we do have a program in our arsenal. That is not the case.

We have examined every article of the 500 days program and have determined a plan of action. We have designated that as of 1 November we will begin a countdown—and we intend to do this countdown—a countdown of those actions, measures, and practical steps which will be aimed at implementing the majority of the 500 days program which in general is not opposed as a whole to the interests of the Union and other republics. On the contrary it was announced as an all-Union program. It is a great pity of course that the first stage, these 100 days, has become impossible to implement it cleanly. But on the other hand the other stages will be implemented, and they can be realistically implemented.

[Announcer] Two, I would say somewhat personal questions. They have been asked by Ivanova.

[Silayev] There are a lot of Ivanovas.

[Announcer, laughing] There are an awful lot of Ivanovas. This one, Marya Ivanovna Ivanovna from Bolshevo: you are a party member. Does your party membership interfere in implementing the program which the Russian legislature has adopted? And Natalya Vladimirovna Rybakova from Moscow: Is it true that you are intending to retire?

[Silayev] First, let me answer Natalya Vladimirovna Rybakova that I do not plan to resign as we are still only at the beginning of our work.

[Announcer] I am simply a little surprised by this question.

[Silayev] Well, these are also rumors.

[Presenter] Also rumors.

[Silayev] Yes, I am a member of the party, that is the CPSU. Now we have many parties, and I can reply that no, this membership does not interfere with my solving Russian problems and carrying out the decisions and resolutions of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

[Announcer] Here is a very complicated question. You have already given a partial reply, I think. It again has to do with relations with the Russian leadership. It is from Shkolnikov in Moscow: Ivan Stepanovich, how will events surrounding the introduction of economic reform in the version submitted by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev develop, and how do relations between the center and the Russian leadership look in the long term?

[Silayev] It is easier for me to imagine the questioner when I have the text in front of me! I think I have already partially replied that we intend by and large to implement the program that was approved by the Russian legislature. As for our mutual relations, we believe they

will not be easy because the center—and we are experiencing this physically—continues its policy of centralization of means and resources. This contradicts the declarations of sovereignty adopted by the republics.

A few days ago, the last republic—Kazakhstan—adopted a declaration of sovereignty. Thus the realization of sovereign rights, particularly in the sphere of the economy and in terms of independence of action, will be taking place in a rather difficult atmosphere. But we intend to act decisively and with persistence.

[Announcer] Right. I have here a whole group of questions. There are a great many of them, and I am not even going to list them or the viewers who asked them since there is a whole bundle of these letters. I would say that they are questions about the social protection of Russia's poorly-off citizens during the transition to the market. There are questions from pensioners and students, from people who simply do not have a very high wage. A women writes that she earns 130 rubles [R]. How can she live under market conditions? I will simply....

[Silayev, interrupting] Pass them to me.

[Announcer] On the same topic.

[Silayev] We understand all our fellow citizens, all Russians, and how alarming anticipation of the market is for them; how concerned they are and how important it is that the government and the Supreme Soviet should protect both by laws and practical action that part of our population which could find itself in a difficult position in the transition to market relations. We are making provision for all of this. Very important draft laws and government decisions are to be adopted in November and December which will implement a whole series of protective measures for those whose working life is over; who are receiving pensions or do not have a high level of material provision; for those who have not yet started work; for the disabled, children, etc. I could say a great deal about this. Given the lack of time, I should simply like to reassure our citizens that the government and Supreme Soviet will take all the measures necessary for their reliable protection. This will be both by the guaranteed supply of foodstuffs and other essential goods and by the protection of stable foodstuffs. The state will here take some of the expenditure upon itself in order to offset and maintain these stable prices on food and essential goods. We do remember and are aware of this and we are taking appropriate measures.

[Announcer] Ivan Stepanovich, has it been calculated how much this compensation will cost the republic, more or less? Because it is no accident, you understand, that there are so many questions about this. Plans and hypotheses can be elaborated, but material provision has not been made for it.

[Silayev] You know, it should be said here that items of expenditure are appearing in our budgets about which we previosly knew nothing. We need to take care of those who have lost their jobs, and this will happen. It is something new to us, but there is no escaping it unfortunately. As a result there is a benefit so that people will be protected while looking for a new job. There is also compensation or idexation of prices, apart from those which are to remain stable. This compensation must also be provided from the republican budget. And soon. In other words, extra items of expenditure are appearing. All that is new, according to preliminary calculations, amounted to something in the region of from R10 to R12 billion. These are considerable sums, but we know how to behave here, and we are now drafting our budget for 1991 in which we are allocating the prime role and attention to these aims of providing social protection, and it is essential to find the funds to do so—not only finances but material resources too. This cannot take place without leaving a trace, and as a result some interesting and needed programs will at this stage have to be removed from the agenda, though not just yet, or considerably reduced. The only things we intend to finance and guarantee are the rural development program and the program to create basis for food production.

[Announcer] I would say that a great many questions are linked to all the conflicts that exist between the Union government and the Russian government on all kinds of issues. To be precise, there is the following question asked by Novikov from Moscow: Each republic is declaring that its resources belong only to the republic. Russian resources however—oil, timber, gold—are Union property. How does Ivan Stepanovich Silayev regard this?

[Silayev] I look at it through the eyes of, and in terms of, the decisions of our First Congress of People's Deputies and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet which ruled that everything on the territory of Russia belongs to the Russian people. It is quite another matter to argue about what it is—the property of the government or of the Supreme Soviet, and how it is all going to be used. I return again to the economic principle. A substantial slice of the economy, the prosperity and well-being of society, are created by production collectives and private individuals who create the material wealth. That is why one should not speak of subordination or some sort of ownership or control in this context. Our task is to create the necessary economic conditions to enable all forms of ownership and all forms of organization of labor to function normally and achieve good economic results. As far as the disposal and ownership of natural resources—timber, oil and gas—are concerned, on this we hold the view that we should not hinder their use, including on a Union-wide level, but that a significant proportion of the proceeds from their sale should enter our budgets and the budgets of the local bodies of power. So far we have had difficulties in achieving this. But we intend to act more persistently here.

[Announcer] Here is another question which again I think is representative of many questions. It is from Antonina Petrovna Zerkovskaya from Nalchik: It is very often said that the law will allow land and industrial enterprises to be sold to foreigners, and also foreign

workers to be employed. What is the Russian government's attitude to this? Will Russia end up being sold off to foreigners, with our own people ending up without a job to go to?

I think this is a fairly typical question: What will the Russian government do to reduce unemployment in this country? Here is another question: What percentage of the national income will stay in Russia? Will Russia again be maintaining the other republics?

It seems to me that here we have two ways of expressing things. There is this viewpoint. I would like to ask you to both reply and perhaps comment on why this view and these rumors and this talk arise.

[Silayev] Well, as for permission to sell enterprises' lands, first of all we are conducting things so this process should take place inside the country, inside Russia. We have drafted the appropriate bills and in the next few days... [changes thought] We have either presented or are presenting whole packages to the Supreme Soviet, including ones about private ownership of land. Naturally we are thinking primarily that our citizens could make use of this. I would even say that we are not flattering ourselves with hopes that as soon as we announce this they will then immediately start queuing up for land and for enterprises, but nevertheless it is necessary to have certain means, the psychology must be changed, broken. That is also a very serious point. So at the first stage we do not see anything bad if, say for instance, some foreign firms show an interest in buying some specific enterprises or some other facilities. It will surely all be regulated. All this is not chaotic or uncontrolled for we are not planning to sell off the lands as a whole of Mother Russia, neither the lands nor any of their basic assets. But another thing must be said too; that without actively attracting foreign capital and their experience, the use of their technical achievements, and the capacity to competently manage the national economy, we will not be able in a short time to rebuild our economy. So here we need to be sensible of course, but not be afraid, not be afraid and attract both capital and the entrepreneurs themselves so that they can take part in these processes.

[Announcer] What about Russia feeding the other republics?

[Silayev] Yes. I should like to say that a major principle distinguishing the Shatalin program from the Union government's program is the so-called Section 3, Chapter 3, the Economic Union of the Republics.

I should like to say once again that neither Russia's Supreme Soviet nor its government are setting us the task of leaving the Union. We are in favor of strengthening the Union according to new principles, economic ones above all. That is why we are persistently, and I would say successfully seeking direct links and finding them—I have already told our viewers that we have already signed economic agreements for 1991 with the majority of republics. We are making these relations more equal.

We cannot say that Russia feeds everyone, but for example every year we used to buy up—although this did go via the center, it is true—between 2 million and 4 million tonnes of wheat from Kazakshtan every year. But we could not tell because it all went to a central distributor, and then went off in the common mass to someone or other. We are now aware that this was so. The other republics, on the contrary, received rather more from us whereas now there is an opportunity, working directly, to see who provides whom with what and who has what in short supply compared with whom. It must be said that if we are talking about the aggregate, we really would have a positive balance. This term does exist. If we are talking about the total. We are reaching agreements with the republics that, in a specific and fairly short period of time—at the most in 1991 or 1992, perhaps 1993—when we will have equalized the goods exchanged acccording to principles of agreed prices and world prices, this process will begin. This cannot be resolved in a moment, but we do believe that if we adhere to the principles we are enshrining in relations with the republics of working directly, we will equalize these economic processes in a short time. Each republic will be a mutually advantageous partner, doing no damage to Russia included.

[Announcer] Interrelated questions, a complex question: Raisa Ignatiyevna from Riga asks: If the Baltic republics leave the USSR there will be a huge number of refugees. What is being thought about regarding this when treaties have been thrashed out with the Baltic republics? We are considered occupiers here. This questions and the question....

[Silayev, interrupting] Yes, I understand.

[Announcer] ...and another thing might be of interest. Nikolay Ivanovich Nikuvin from Riga writes: The Baltic countries are protected by customs controls against Russia. How do you regard this? There might be a connection here.

[Silayev] I will reply to this immediately. I regard it negatively. We signed with Lativa, Lithuania, and others economic agreements undertaking the obligation to ensure normal functioning of our economic relations, so this is already a violation of these obligations. We intend also to take specific measures on this.

It is a very important questions that Raisa Ignatiyevna from Riga asks. I would like to say something about the principle enshrined in the political agreement. So far only one such treaty has been signed—that is with the republic of Moldova [Moldavia]. It was signed at the supreme level by the president of Moldvoa and by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. This enshrines in red the principles of protection of our citizens living in Moldova. I am not prepared now to read it out verbatim, but the meaning of it is that each side, and in particular Moldova, guarantees all rights to the citizens of the Russian-speaking group residing on their territory. Likewise, we guarantee Moldova all equal political, economic, and any juridical rights to Moldovans living on our territory.

With the Baltic republics no such political treaties have yet been signed. But if they are signed, then it will be with the categorical demand that our citizens there will be protected. Only on these conditions will these treaties be signed. That is the firm position of the Supreme Soviet and government, and that of Boris Nikolayevich and myself.

[Announcer] Ivan Stepanovich, we have only answered a small proportion of all the questions. Unfortunately our time on the air is coming to an end. I thank you on behalf of all the viewers, and on my own behalf for finding it possible to come on the air and answer the questions which are now of concern to everyone. Thank you.

[Silayev] I thank you. It is a great pity that there are so many questions left over, but perhaps we could agree, and I appeal to our comrade viewers and our countrymen, please, we will look at all these questions very attentively, and perhaps we shall meet again and perhaps have some kind of topical interview or something so that we can still find an opportunity to answer all the questions which are of common concern to many of our citizens.

[Announcer] Thank you.

[Silayev] Thank you, and thank you comrade viewers.

Moscow's Popov Interviewed on Political Situation

PM2610140890 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 18 Oct 90 p 16

[Interview with Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov by Francoise Thom; place and date not given]

[Text] [Thom] How do you view the current political situation in the USSR?

[Popov] In my view we are witnessing the start of a crisis that should lead to a final choice about the type of perestroyka which we want. The 28th congress demonstrated that the conservative forces were incapable of proposing a real alternative to perestroyka, at least at the present stage. Consequently we still have to discuss what kind of perestroyka we will adopt and this question must be settled in the coming months. The main problem is the distribution of state property.

We will have to decide between two options. Either the existing ruling apparatus will seize state property and divide it among themselves, or a democratic mechanism for distributing this property among the majority of citizens will be established. These two types of privatization—the bureaucratic type and the democratic type—will make it possible to solve the main problem which is how to eliminate bureaucratic socialism. Both will therefore lead to a change of regime. Both will be transitional. If the apparatchiks seize state property, competition will destroy most of those who have shown themselves incapable of handling business, and only the real entrepreneurs will survive.

The same is true of the second case. At all events, we will therefore witness the formation of a new economic structure and from this viewpoint, too, the two alternatives will lead to a change of regime. Whatever the option chosen, it is clear that the time has come when the traditional forms of organization—the soviets—no longer have a raison d'etre. The democratic soviets will continue for some time to adopt decisions and laws; we will then have to decide which bodies will deal with all that. We do not have any adequate mechanism in the country: The one we have is reactionary and incapable of achieving what is necessary. Our apparatus is not suited to these new functions. We will therefore soon have to create an administration capable of implementing the changes I have mentioned, irrespective of which alternative is chosen.

[Thom] What are the existing political forces?

[Popov] Things are constantly changing, and it is difficult to give an answer. The democratic forces are increasingly aware that they alone will not succeed in implementing perestroyka and that they must seek allies. There will probably be a split in the democratic camp. Some democrats will agree to cooperate with a section of the apparatus for the sake of perestroyka and they will seek an alliance with the officials of the apparatus in the economy, the Army, and the KGB.

The democratic movement's left wing, which is traditionally extremely radical, will protest this alliance. That is where the split will occur. The center, where Gorbachev is situated, has lost all support and it can only survive by maneuvering and cannot have an independent policy. It will only exist and will only be able to act to the extent that it finds alliances. It is now trying to replace the alliance with the conservatives by an alliance with the left wing, with the radicals. It is difficult to predict what will happen because Gorbachev will have to get rid of his conservative wing which does not want such an alliance. In my view the country's political future depends on this: Will we succeed in forming a center-left coalition? If this is achieved the left will reject its radical wing, the conservatives will reject the apparatchiks, and they will also have to separate from their proletarian elements which are traditionally directed toward the defense of the workers. If all this happens then progress is possible.

[Thom] You have been head of the Moscow City Soviet for some time. What is your assessment of your activity? Have there been problems which you did not expect?

[Popov] Everything has happened more or less as expected except that the rate at which the crisis has worsened has been more rapid than we expected. The crisis was deeper than we imagined. Of course the evidence was there, but it is one thing to formulate theoretical hypotheses and another to tackle practical problems. The irony of the situation rests in the fact that the democratic Moscow City Soviet has been forced to introduce a whole series of administrative measures in

the economy which ought to have been adopted by the previous team, but it did not have the courage to do so. Our action is justified because we think that these measures will make it possible to guarantee the further transition toward the market.

[Thom] In June 1989 you compared the Soviet economy to a drug addict who constantly needs new fixes to escape the horrors of his condition....

[Popov] We can now no longer talk of a Soviet economy, the whole system is collapsing. We must seek a radical solution.

[Thom] What do you advocate?

[Popov] I advocate conventional measures for Moscow and for the federation. We must create a system of social security which guarantees the essential minimum and leave all the rest to the free market. The people must be able to buy basic commodities at state-controlled prices and aside from that the market must rule.

[Thom] Are you in favor of lifting price restraints?

[Popov] Yes, aside from commodities that the people will buy with ration cards. They must be sure that they will not starve to death. All the measures that we have taken are based on this principle. We are guaranteeing a minimum that is close to poverty: This minimum, sold at state prices, will give our fellow citizens a feeling of security. They will not think they have been abandoned to their sorry fate. Everything else must be left to the market and the sooner this happens the better.

[Thom] Do you think the recent shortages that have appeared—the shortage of cigarettes and bread—should be attributed to sabotage or blamed on the normal development of the system?

[Popov] There are several converging factors, but the main cause must be sought in the normal development of the crisis. We must also take account of elements additional to this fundamental cause: A whole category of people are making a living from the shortages and therefore stand to gain from the shortages continuing. There are mafiosi who are taking advantage of the shortages and growing rich. We must also not forget the old apparatchiks who want to show that the democrats do not know what to do and who are helping to create new problems. There are therefore many problems, but the main cause is an old one.

[Thom] Do you share Afanasyev's view that it is no longer possible to talk of a Soviet state?

[Popov] I think that a large number of Central Asian republics will remain attached to the Soviet federation for a long time yet: In my view, the Caucasian republics will be prompted by their internal disagreements to return to the Soviet state—for instance, Armenia can only survive with its protection. If we withdrew the troops deployed in that republic it would cease to exist the next day: It would be divided and conquered by the Turks. That is why I think that a whole series of republics will move toward a federated state.

In addition, the main foundations of the Soviet state are intact—the KGB, the forces of the Interior Ministry, and to some extent the organs of justice. We must therefore not underestimate the Soviet state's existing power.

[Thom] Do you not think that there is a risk for reformers in participating in the administration of public affairs in the present circumstances? Could they not be turned into scapegoats?

[Popov] There is a risk but we have no choice. The voters would not forgive the democrats for running for election and shirking responsibility. I am fully aware that in accepting my duties in the Moscow City Soviet I inherited crises, deadlocks, and all kinds of problems, but I could not do anything else because I had run for election.

[Thom] One last question: What do you think would be an intelligent policy by the West with regard to the USSR?

[Popov] I think the West should abandon its policy of cooperation with governments, with the bureaucratic structures of the apparatus that now exist and that are doomed in any case. I stress "governments"—the Russian government, as well as the Union government. They should only be used to reach agreements. The bulk of the capital should be invested in such a way as to encourage private enterprise. The money should go to the farmers and businessmen who are free from state control. If credit is given to the governments, it will be used to support to the existing structure. The same will happen as happened under Brezhnev.

Moscow Subway Fare To Double If Subsidy Cut

PM2610114190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 90 Union Edition p 6

[Report by S. Mostovshchikov: "The Moscow Subway: 20 Kopeks To Ride?"]

[Text] Rumors about increased fares on the Moscow subway, which is used by around 10 million people every day, have long been circulating, but never have they been so close to the truth.

Talk to the effect that something bad was happening came to a head in August of this year when five-kopek coins disappeared in Moscow. On special instructions from the subway leadership, changing passengers' money for five-kopek pieces was sharply restricted to two coins per person.

Stories about "no-good cooperative workers" melting down the "copper" to make ornaments were quite quickly replaced by conjecture of another kind. The following hypothesis became more popular: that five-kopek pieces had stopped being issued altogether, and instead there was a plan for the mass issue of ten-kopek pieces which was what subway fares would soon cost.

However Dmitriy Gayev, first deputy chief of the Moscow subway, affirms that the situation is much more complex and uncertain. The disappearance of five-kopek pieces, according to him, has nothing to do with the subway's financial problems that have arisen and was not planned in advance. In any case, the Leningrad Mint minted 30 tonnes of five-kopek pieces in September for the Moscow subway, whereas the number of ten-kopek pieces ordered was not increased. But Dmitriy Gayev says nevertheless that ten kopeks for a subway fare is realistic, and is the gentlest of the realities that may await us in the near future.

In accordance with recent decisions, the subway's expenditure on transporting passengers is increasing sharply, primarily because of electricity that will cost 4 kopeks per kilowatt as of January 1991 instead of 1.6 kopeks as it does now. There will be a 50-percent increase on material necessary for regular major repairs and normal maintenance work. The subway will also need to increase by 50 percent the wages of the militia on duty on the stations, and to continue to spend money on bomb shelters. In addition, from the new year onward a 45-percent tax will be imposed on the subway's income which previously did not exist. In all, expenditure is expected to leap to 388 million rubles [R] in 1991 from R173 million this year.

It is, however, possible to avoid fare increases. Not just by providing quite a substantial subsidy. The losses of the cheap Moscow subway, which like other subways does not make a profit, were always cancelled by centralized Ministry of Railways funds. This year the subsidy was around R60 million. In 1991, if the fare remains at five kopeks, losses to the tune of R200 million are expected.

So that it does not perish and so that it does not cause Moscow to die in the end, the subway must obtain these 200 millions (!). If it does not come from the Ministry of Railways, which will no longer have any centralized funds as of next year, and if it does not come from the Moscow City Soviet which is refusing to pay, then this money will have to be obtained from the passengers.

"A decision has not yet been made about who will actually pay," Dmitriy Gayev says. "We are being placed in a hopeless situation. At the moment we are putting forward several options and we will have to deal with them quickly. It will be either five kopeks for the fare and R200 million in subsidy, or 10 kopeks and R149 million, or 15 kopeks and R21 million."

Minister of Railways Nikolay Konarev believes everything must be done to avoid an increase in subway fares. Or at worst to avoid a sharp increase.

"The question is now being decided: Either a subsidy will be allocated from the Union funds by way of an exception, or the Russian Government will procure the resources, or the Moscow City Soviet will find the money," the minister says. "The latter seems to me to be the most logical since this is a matter that primarily concerns Muscovites. And I think that a way out of the prevailing situation will be found anyway. It is just that it is not clear at the moment what it will be."

According to Dmitriy Gayev, if the measures are not adopted the subway employees will not go on strike. They will just increase the fares to 20 kopeks on their own initiative as of 1 January and thus cancel their losses. The subway leadership is not troubled by the fact that it takes around seven months to introduce a fully automated entry system using new coins into the underground stations, and to supply Moscow with a sufficient quantity of them. The subway is prepared to temporarily switch off the turnstiles and take people on to sell special cards and let passengers into the station on presentation of these cards.

These cards have been ordered at the printers and millions of them are now being printed. Let us go for a ride!

Leningrad Soviet Sets Up New Newspaper

PM2610104190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by Yevgeniy Solomenko under the "Direct Line" rubric: "NEVSKOYE VREMYA—The Newspaper of the Leningrad City Soviet"]

[Text] Leningrad—The Leningrad City Soviet has founded a new newspaper—NEVSKOYE VREMYA [The Neva Times]—and has just confirmed the appointment of its editor.

According to the editor Yu. Nikolayev, it will be a fundamentally new newspaper. He stated from the rostrum at a Leningrad City Soviet session that he will be starting a newpaper that is independent of parties and social organizations.

"This is not merely the Leningrad City Soviet's mouthpiece," Yu. Nikolayev said, "but a political newspaper that the Leningrad City Soviet will run."

The first edition of NEVSKOYE VREMYA will come out 1 January 1991.

Ivanovo People's Front Plans 7 November Protest

PM2610132290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Union Edition p 3

[INTERFAX report: "Ivanovo People's Front Plans for 7 November"]

[Text] The People's Front of Ivanovo City, where the first Soviet of Workers' Deputies was established in 1905, has decided to hold a protest demonstration on 7 November, the October Revolution's 73d anniversary. Through the VOLNOYE SLOVO independent newspaper, the Front's leadership has called on the city's inhabitants to gather at one of the churches and celebrate a requiem for those who perished during the years of the repressions and then to form a separate column and march across Revolution Square in condemnation of the "October 1917 coup." The Ivanovo People's Front

intends to come to the demonstration with the following slogans: "Long live great, united, and indivisible Russia!," "The CPSU's repentance Means its departure from the political arena!," "Ryzhkov Government Out!"

Sverdlovsk Plan To Barter for Food Faulted

PM2910105590 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 90 1

[Article by V.Sanatin: "Tanks for Spaghetti?"]

[Text] Food shortages and the threat of mass famine have compelled Sverdlovsk Oblast deputies to take a trip to Moscow. The Sverdlovsk delegation met members of the Russian government and also had personal meetings with N.I. Ryzhkov and M.S. Gorbachev.

The Sverdlovsk deputies returned without guaranteed stocks of meat, butter, or macaroni... but happy all the same! The deputies had tried to explain to the president the obvious: The country's economy has long been regulated not by the Union government nor by the ruble, but by the extortionate barter deals of local mini-czars. While Union legislators have been pondering how to regulate a market economy, the market has established itself through natural causes in its most primitive, predatory forms.

However the following can also happen. I have already said that the Sverdlovsk deputies returned from Moscow happy. Sverdlovsk Obliskpolkom [oblast executive committee] Chairman E. Rossel announced on local television that he had received permission from Moscow to trade some of the strategic raw materials and weapons in whose production almost one in two able-bodied people in the oblast are directly or indirectly involved. In particular, a Bogoslovskiy plant has received the right to make export deals: 5,000 tonnes of aluminum for 5,000 tonnes of meat.... The Urals Truck Plant, which produces tanks, has been instructed by the oblast soviet to find foreign business partners forthwith. L. Voronin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, has promised to allow trade even in tanks.

Bravo! An end to the state monopoly on the arms trade.

But a mass of hard questions arise.

First, will the United Nations be capable of controlling conflicts like today's confrontation in the Persian Gulf if in the Land of the Soviets every oblast-level politician starts trading in tanks?

Second, will not a bundle of orders for arms from the ultra-right parties, people's fronts, and national armies of "USSR sovereign republics" land on the Sverdlovsk Oblast Soviet chairman's desk?

Third, what happened to conversion? When will we get down to shunting the "defense sector" ["oboronki"] which deprives us of material resources, cadres, and a sizeable amount of rubles, onto peaceful rails? Once we have eaten our fill of imported ham, we will of course forget again about our own Soviet computers, fridges, and television sets....

Fourth, who is to say that, having once exchanged tanks for macaroni, we will not get stuck on the humiliating macaroni level in international deals? What a lot of talk there has been about new technology for preserving and reprocessing food products....

Fifth, the center's hopeless foreign trade led to the ruin of the state budget and the impoverishment of metallurgists, oil workers, and peasants. Why? Because we have been exchanging strategic raw materials and weapons for imported chow for many decades already. Now we are trusting "dirty business" to local authorities.

This is not the market. It is a pawnshop where people bring their last paltry gold ring.

There will soon be no metal for guns and missiles because there is a catastrophic shortage of scrap, ore, and electricity for smelting the metal. All these components have also been released for export. Power workers, metallurgists, and machinebuilders will evidently soon have to be paid in labor days since the workers certainly will not be paid dollars and marks. It has not yet occurred to the working man who has grown up in our poverty that, together with Italian macaroni and German ham, he will be eating through the last kopek in the dying ruble. And who will agree if you say that tomorrow we will be handing out all pay in spaghetti tokens?

Oblast CPSU Committees Elect First Secretaries

Mordovia Oblast

LD2710205390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The Mordovian party organization has a new leader. Skoptsov has been elected first secretary of the Mordovian republican CPSU party committee, on an alternative basis, at the republican party conference today.

Pskov Oblast

LD2710204890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The second concluding stage of the party conference of the Communists in Pskov Oblast ended its work today. (Nikitin), formerly chairman of Pskov town soviet of people's deputies, was elected first secretary of the oblast party committee from a choice of candidates. The former first secretary of the oblast party committee, Ilyin, was earlier released from his duties on his election as second secretary of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Communist Party Central Committee.

Tuva Oblast

LD2710203790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] The conference of the Tuva republican organization of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Communist Party ended today. A report on the republican committee's work was discussed, as was the action program to implement the decisions of the 28th CPSU Congress and the constituent congress of the RSFSR Communist Party.

The top leaders were elected: On a multi-candidate basis, Comrade (Shirshin) was elected first secretary of the Tuva republican organization of the RSFSR Communist Party.

Comrade Girenko, a CPSU Central Committee secretary, took part in the work of the conference and delivered a speech. During his stay in the republic he had meetings with collectives at industrial enterprises, agricultural workers, and Kyzyl Rayon party activists.

Yaroslavl Oblast

LD2710205590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1530 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Communists have adopted a program for the stabilization of the political-economic situation in Yaroslavl Oblast at their report-back and election conference. Sergey Aleksandrovich Kalinin, secretary of the party committee of the Rybinskiy Association of Engine Building and CPSU Central Committee member, has been elected first secretary of the CPSU Oblast Committee. He is 39 years old and is an electronics engineer.

Asha Secretary Relinquishes City Soviet Post

PM2610105190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent V. Cherepanov: "Only One Post"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk, 24 Oct—N. Tsarikhin had a hard choice to make at the latest session of the Asha City Soviet of People's Deputies: renouncing the combination of posts of chairman of the city soviet or first secretary of the CPSU city committee. Nonetheless, he prefered to remain at the head of the party organization.

Alternative TV Channel Registered in Tomsk

LD2210043790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2230 GMT 21 Oct 90

[Text] The alternative TV channel TV-2 has been registered in the Tomsk city executive committee. The industrial association Impulse and the department of communications became its founders. The new channel's program envisages an information slot, feature and video films, and programs on the other cities' television studios. Programs will be broadcast for 3-4 hours a day in the evening from the state-owned stationary transmitters because the organizers are leasing part of the TV center's technical equipment.

Central TV To Air RSFSR Programs

PM1910075990 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 13 Oct 90 Second Edition p 6

[Report by S. Yerofreyev: "Russian Television Channel"]

[Text] Russia is the only republic not to have its own national television. The creation of Russian television's first republican program, which is soon to begin broadcasting, will make it possible to eliminate this gap. Until full facilities for making television programs are set up in the republic, programs will be made and transmitted as part of the Central Television First and Second Programs. They will have between two and four hours of airtime per day.

But citizens of Russia need more than just the creation of their own national television. After all, there are currently more than 21,000 population centers in the European and Urals part of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and the Far East that are unable to watch the Central Television Second Program, and therefore Russian television as well. The launch in 1990 and 1991 of three "Gorizont" space satellites will enable the inhabitants of remote settlements to receive Russia's television programs. The launch of the first "Gorizont" will take place in the very near future. Russia's telecommunications workers are setting up the ground network for television reception. But the question of providing the population with television sets still awaits solution.

Western Republics

Coverage of Crisis Situation in Gagauz Region

Moldavian Leaders Urge Calm

LD2610113290 Moscow TASS in English 1108 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Text] Kishinev October 26 TASS—Gagauz populated region in Moldavia remained relatively calm early on Friday, according to a Moldavian Communist Party official visiting Komrat.

Meanwhile, Gagauz leaders have refused to meet Moldavian President Mircha Snegur.

According to Moldavian parliament press attache Dmitriy Cira, "all efforts by the president, government and people's deputies to forge a dialogue have failed".

A dozen armoured personnel carriers have been sent to the town of Chemishlia where several thousand volunteers from Kishinev and other Moldovian cities are massing.

Moldavian parliament speaker Aleksandru Moshanu went on national television late on Thursday, calling on the people to "show maximum restraint, calm and tolerance to prevent clashes between volunteers and the Gagauz people".

There are militants on both sides ready to "cast us into the abyss of violence", he said.

Gagauz archimandrite Joseph and several intellectuals also called on the Gagauz people to show prudence.

"The policy of confrontation has exhausted itself. We should move to a policy of compromises, political concessions and dialogues. One cannot base one's own happiness on other people's misfortunes, one cannot build a solid house without good neighbours and true friends," the intellectuals said in their address.

The Moldavian parliament meets today to discuss ways out of the crisis.

Telephone Operators Blocking Calls

LD2610164290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 26 Oct 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Here is the very latest report. Telephone exchanges in Kishinev are refusing to put telephone calls through to Komrat and other towns in the Gagauz republic. This does not appear to be a wildcat action by local telephone operators. According to unconfirmed reports, this has been done on the direct instructions of the republican leadership. A Moscow telephone operator who tried to get through to Komrat was told: Moscow shouldn't meddle in our affairs. We will manage on our own. So all we can do is to use this live bulletin to ask our correspondents in Komrat to find some way of getting through to the Television News Service editorial office.

Appeal to Gorbachev Discussed

LD2610162690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1425 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent Fedor Angeli: "On the Situation in Southern Moldova"—TASS headline]

[Text] Kishinev, 26 Oct (TASS)—The session of the Moldovan [Moldavian] Supreme Soviet continues its work here. Today it adopted a decision on introducing a state of emergency in the southern area of the republic where the Gagauz population resides.

In his speech at the session, USSR People's Deputy Nikolay Dabizha maintained that "what is going on currently in the republic is taking place with the silent consent of the center." Dabizha proposed sending an urgent telegram to USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev demanding that he adopt measures to preserve the integrity of the republic. In the event of a refusal, Dabizha considers "it will be necessary to announce the secession of Moldova from the structure of the USSR". His proposals were supported by some people's deputies. Moldovan People's Deputy Nadezhda Brynzan said that if President Gorbachev does not use his authority to amend the decision on the formation of the Dnestr and Gagauz Republics, Moldova will not sign the Union Treaty.

The session is discussing the question on sending an urgent appeal by the Moldovan Supreme Soviet to the USSR legislature and president calling on them to adopt immediate measures preventing the dismemberment of the republic.

At the same time, the elections of representatives to the Gagauz Republic Supreme Soviet in the villages of Komratskiy and Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayons have already ended and are continuing only in the rayon centers—the towns of Komrat and Chadyr-Lunga—the leaders of CPSU committees in these rayons told a TASS correspondent. In their opinion the Gagauz population of the three rayons where the state of emergency has been declared categorically oppose introducing militia units there. Regarding USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] internal troops, attitudes toward them are loyal.

Moldavia Suspends Treaty Participation

LD2610175190 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 26 Oct 90

[MOLDOVA-PRESS report by TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev October 26 TASS—The Moldavian Supreme Soviet declared inconclusive the results of polls to local bodies of power in several populated localities inhabited by the Gagauz population. Gagauz are a Turkic-speaking ethnic group of the Christian faith.

In response to the situation in southern Moldavia, the Moldavian Supreme Soviet decided at an extraordinary session to suspend the participation of Moldavian representatives in the elaboration of the draft Union Treaty until there is no longer a danger that the republic's territorial integrity will break apart.

Snegur Addreses Legislature

LD2610193990 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondents Yuriy Pometov and Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev October 26 TASS—Moldavian President Mircha Snegur today addressed the afternoon republican parliament session to inform it about the situation in the republic's south.

Snegur said the situation is under control, and confrontation has been averted. Militia units have not entered the territory of the Gagauz republic. The region is blockaded. Several servicemen have been detained for

inquiries about the aims of their visit there. An armed member of the Gagauz republic's provisional committee has also been detained.

The parliament adopted an address to parliaments throughout the world and the U.N. General Assembly session currently in New York, calling on them to take a stand as regards the situation in Moldavia. The parliament also adopted a reply to the Romanian parliament, which was the first "to support Moldavia's territorial integrity.

The provisional committee of the Gagauz republic today formed a delegation for talks with the Moldavian parliament. The committee said it was ready to declare a moratorium on elections to the Gagauz republican parliament.

In the evening, the extraordinary parliament session ended its work.

Troop Movement Reported

LD2610165290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1502 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Fedor Angeliy]

[Text] Kishinev, 26 Oct (TASS)—The social and political situation in Moldova remains extremely complicated. According to a report from the south of the republic, a company of assault troops stationed in Komratskiy Rayon, along with its military equipment, was moved outside the rayon borders at noon today. This was done, representatives of the leadership of the Gagauz republic believe, following a conversation between Moldovan President Mircha Snegur, and USSR Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov. A Tiraspol resident who refused to give his name called the TASS correspondents' office and asked that the Moldova leadership be told that if the blockade of the Gagauz rayons continues, the Dnestr republic, declared anticonstitutional by the parliament of Moldova, intends to cut off the supply of electricity and gas to areas on the right bank of the Dnestr and to block the railway that runs through Tiraspol. This could have unpredictable economic consequences.

Troops Called 'Gross Violation'

PM2610155690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent E. Kondratov: "State of Emergency Imposed in Southern Moldova"]

[Excerpt] Kishinev—[passage omitted] At night [on Thursday], elections continued in villages in the southern rayons and in the city of Chadyr-Lunga—the legislators' suspicions were confirmed. On Friday morning elections also began in Komrat, to the wailing of sirens and the ringing of bells. Uncompromising in mood, the city people have dug trenches and are making barricades and barriers out of bulldozers and KamAZ trucks.

In the morning M. Snegur, president of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], announced to the [Supreme Soviet] session that the talks for which he had traveled to Chimishliya were wrecked—the Gagauz side did not turn up. Tremendous efforts were required overnight to restrain the excited volunteers and prevent bloodshed. The president informed parliament that despite USSR Defense Minister Marshal Yazov's assurances of noninterference by the Army, mechanized units of a division stationed in Bolgrad had entered Komrat. This act is explained in terms of the "need to protect military commissariats." This the president said, is a gross violation of Moldova's sovereignty and a violation of the law on declaring a state of emergency.

M. Snegur appealed to parliament to do everything possible to ensure that the volunteers return home since the consequences of their participation in events could be tragic. In order to protect the Moldavian population of the southern rayons, the president proposed the formation of two districts [uyezd]—Kagulskiy and Tarakliyskiy.

Parliament adopted a resolution declaring a state of emergency in three rayons in the south of the republic and special forms of rule in those rayons. The powers of local soviets are abolished, and on their territory a Provisional Committee of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet is formed, headed by A. Sangeli, deputy prime minister of the Moldova SSR.

Soldiers Stabilizing Situation

LD2710063290 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0427 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Report by correspondents Petkov, Vengruk, and Anastasov; from the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] [Announcer] A state of emergency has been declared in the southern regions of Moldavia. Moldovan legislative deputies are discussing the urgent formation of a regular republican army.

[Petkov] Now, with the state of emergency, coaches are ready to transfer additional detachments of volunteers from Kishinev central square to the south. Since yesterday more than 20,000 of them have been mustered in Chimishliya, on the border with the Gagauz region.

Since nightfall police roadblocks have with difficulty stopped traffic to Komrat, the main town of the region. Since yesterday children have been transported out of it to places of safety.

Forestalling the decision to introduce a state of emergency, elections of deputies to the Gagauz republic legislature, which were to have taken place on 28 October, have begun here. This has brought forward the

critical moment of confrontation, and in order to avert the irreparable, military subunits have been brought into Komrat.

[Vengruk] There are road blocks everywhere. It is exceedingly difficult to get past them. All roads are blocked. Tractors, buses, and trucks are halted and only the magic word Television News Service helped us to get here. This program is especially trusted here. Enterprises, except those which ensure the provision of vital necessities, are not working here in Komrat. Schools are idle. The whole male population is patrolling all the approaches to the town around the clock. Buildings and firms are being blockaded and monitored. Practically everywhere premature elections have started.

The situation yesterday evening was particularly tense since it was not known how many coaches were approaching from the direction fo Kishinev. But when soldiers appeared in the night everyone heaved a sigh of relief. The soldiers have stabilized the situation. But the Gagauz blockade continues. The confrontation is worrying everyone and everything now depends on the negotiations.

[Unidentified man] We have met our opponents and I think that a dialogue has taken place. Thanks to this dialogue and the aspiration to prevent the collision of these two peoples, we have survived tonight. There could have been a great, bloody confrontation last night.

[Anastasov] How do you assess the situation now?

[Unidentified man] The situation remains tremendously dangerous and tremendously complex. This is a political act. Evidently the Moscow politicians must also evaluate it. This is not any old group. It is organized by the leadership of the Moldovan Republic.

We must find a compromise. The alternative to compromise is force. There is no other way out apart from finding a compromise. For history will not forgive us if we put these two peoples on a collision course. Neither Gagauzes nor Moldovans have ever been at enmity.

Taking advantage of your highly regarded Television News Service program, I would like the ordinary Moldavian people and the ordinary Gagauz people to listen to me now. We must do everything possible, using all the thousand various political methods to resolve... [sentence cut off by split-second clip of nocturnal rally]

Situation Remains Tense

LD2710090290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0750 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Report by MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 27 Oct (TASS)—The public-political situation in Moldova remains complicated. Tension remains in the rayons where a state of emergency was declared on Friday, although the situation is under the control of the provisional committee formed by the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet.

Yesterday evening volunteers continued to be dispatched to the border with the southern rayons of the republic. They have literally filled the roads to Moldova's Komratskiy and Chadyr-Lungskiy rayons.

In an appearance on national television Mircea Druc, the Moldovan prime minister, called on the volunteers to show discipline and calm and asked them not to undertake any actions without government instructions. While thanking everyone for their support, he asked that no more volunteers be sent to the border with the territory where the state of emergency has been declared and special regulations introducted.

A special bank account has been opened in Kishinev in support of the Volunteers.

'Volunteer' Group Formations Continue

LD2710163990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1445 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondents Valeriy Demidetskiy and Yuriy Prometov report]

[Text] Kishinev, 27 Oct—As is now known, a regiment of internal troops billeted in Kishinev has, with the agreement of Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, been made subordinate to the Government of Moldavia. However detachments continue to be formed although, as already reported, Mircea Druc, the prime minister of Moldova, has asked that no more volunteer detachments be sent to the border with the areas inhabited by the Gagauz population where an emergency situation has been introduced by a decision of the republican Supreme Soviet. Many of them are being used to patrol the streets of Kishinev and other places, which are almost without militiamen.

At the same time, a number of rayons on the left bank of the Dnestr and in the north of the republic have not complied with the decision of the republican government on forming volunteer detachments and on providing them with transport, food, and fuel. It has become known that a convoy of several dozen cars heading from Tiraspol to Komrat taking volunteers to support the Gagauz has been stopped.

The Gagauz are a Turkic-speaking people whose representatives densely populate a number of rayons in the south of Moldova. The Supreme Soviet of Moldova has declared "anti-constitutional" the proclamation of a Gagauz republic on the territory of these rayons.

USSR Sends Troops to Area

LD2710161490 Moscow TASS in English 1543 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Text] Moscow October 27 TASS—The Soviet Government instructed the Interior Ministry to send troops to

the southern Moldavian region under the state of emergency to increase security there following requests from the Moldavian president and representatives of the local Gagauz people.

The government said in a statement today that the situation in Moldavia, in the southwest of the USSR, has worsened dramatically over the past few days.

It said that the Moldavian parliament imposed a state of emergency in Gagauz-populated areas in connection with elections there and the movement of numerous groups of "volunteers" towards these areas.

The statement described the situation in the region as highly tense and fraught with unpredictable consequences.

It said that the Soviet Government supports talks under way between the Moldavian leadership and representatives of the Gagauz and hopes that they will normalize the situation and resolve all ethnic problems, which have arisen in Moldavia, in the interests of its peoples.

The Soviet Government said it was approached by Moldavian President Mircha Snegur and Gagauz representatives asking to send Interior Ministry troops to the region under the state of emergency to increase protection for law and order there.

The statement quoted Mircha Snegur as assuring the Government that the groups of "volunteers" would be pulled back and disbanded.

"The Government issued respective instructions to the Interior Ministry," the statement said.

Armored Unit Sent to Komrat

LD2710142190 Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Excerpts] As you may have heard in the news, parliament in the southwestern Soviet republic of Moldova yesterday declared a state of emergency in southern parts of the republic in which members of the Gagauz ethnic group form a majority. [passage omitted]

Earlier, speakers at a big rally in the Gagauz administrative center of Komrat declared their resolve to rebuff what they called the aggressors from Kishinev. Factories came to a standstill and schools and day care centers were closed, with the male members of the Gagauz community awaiting a call to stand up in defense of the republic's independence.

President Snegur had to appeal to parliament for measures to bring back the volunteers in order to present ethnic clashes. Mr. Snegur also informed the house that, in spite of the assurances by the Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Yazov that the Army would refrain from intervening into the conflict, armored units of a division deployed in Bolgrad moved into Komrat, ostenisbly to protect local call-up stations. Mr. Snegur described the action as a gross violation of Moldova's sovereignty and the state of emergency.

Moldova's parliament lodged a protest with the Soviet Prime Minister Ryzhkov and Defense Minister Dmitriy Yazov over the movement of troops into Komrat. It also annulled the vote-counting results in the Gagauz republic and decided to walk out of talks on a new Union treaty because of the center's breach of commitments to Moldova. Members of parliament voiced opposition to a military parade being held in Kishinev on 7th November and revoked the mandates of a number of Gagauz leaders holding seats in Moldova's parliament.

With tension reaching a climax, all efforts must be taken to prevent the situation from getting out of control and spilling over into ethnic clashes. The backlog of problems can be resolved only on the basis of the dialogue, compromise, and respect for the rights of all ethnic groups residing in Moldova. Yesterday's report spoke of a provisional committee being set up in the Gagauz republic authorized to hold talks with Moldova representatives, with (?Bessarabskaya) named as a possible venue. Unconfirmed reports say the committee is prepared to suspend the voting results in the Gagauz republic.

Official Warns Against 'Civil War'

LD2710205290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1627 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Report by MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS correspondents Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Kishinev, 27 Oct (MOLDOVA-PRESS-TASS)—The social and political situation in the south of the Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] remains complex. The search for ways of organizing a peace dialogue between the leadership of the Moldova Supreme Soviet and the leaders of the Provisional Committee of the Gagauz Republic—the formation of which has been recognized as anti-constitutional by the Moldovan legislature—has not yet resulted in a mutually acceptable decision.

"If it is not possible to restrain the detachments of volunteers which have been formed by a decision of the government of the Moldova SSR and which are now on the approaches to the borders of Moldova's Vulkaneshtskiy, Komratskiy, and Chadyr-Lungskiy Rayons, a civil war could break out," Igor Zaretskiy, first secretary of the Tiraspol Town Committee of the Communist Party, told the TASS correspondent. "The situation has considerably worsened; more than 40 buses carrying volunteer detachments who want to help the Gagauz population have now left Moldova's left bank, heading south. If they clash with the volunteers, who are aiming to defend the territorial integrity of Moldova, the situation could get out of control."

According to the leader of the Tiraspol party organization, the situation is calm on the left bank of the Dnestr—where on 2 September, 1990, the Dnestr Moldovan Soviet Socialist Republic within a renewed USSR was proclaimed, which has been recognized as anticonstitutional by the parliament of Moldova. In answer to the correspondent's question as to whether there will be elections to the state bodies of power in the Dnestr republic [pridnestrovye], Igor Zaretskiy said: "For the moment it is difficult to say. At present the presidiums of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldovan SSR and the Provisional Supreme Soviet of the Dnestr Republic have formed commissions designed to work out a compromise and to avert the elections set for 25 November. Several meetings have already been held during which members of the commission are looking for means to a mutually acceptable solution."

'Information Blockade' Reported

LD2810053990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2246 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent A. Vengruk from Komrat, Moldavia; from the "Television News Service" program presented by Yuriy Rostov]

[Excerpts] [Rostov] The main events today are taking place in Moldova. The conditions for a tragic development of events remain there. Unfortunately the television correspondents' bureau in Kishinev has been blocked by pickets today and we have not received our correspondent's report from Kishinev. Now you will see footage which was shot yesterday and, as we understand it, were the reason for the information blockade. [passage omitted]

We believe that the Kishinev citizens are wrong in not letting a television correspondent do his job. It is their fault that today we have only one report. It has been filmed in Komrat and presents the Gagauz position.

[Vengruk] Komrat. Today is the 70th day since the declaration of the Gagauz republic. The blockade continues. The troops have left but on the condition that the formations back off. Nonetheless formations of the Moldovan republican police and volunteers remain. They have encircled the residences of the Gagauz population with a tight cordon. The state of emergency declared by the Moldovan Government has generated acute dissension here and the desire to oppose its enforcement. This has greatly hardened attitudes. Only its suspension can remove the tension

In (Kiritlunga) village a clash took place between the formations and the police, a car was shot up by two submachinegun bursts. The police have stated that it was the Gagauzes themselves who fired.

In an attempt by a police detachment to pass Gagauz sentry posts, the local populace lay on the road and prevented 87 coaches and (?road building equipment) from passing.

According to the local populace, the chief of the Soroki Rayon police department has declared that he has an order to shoot any armed person. The Moldavian police, it is implied, is a formation of the new Moldavian army.

The elections have ended, but the results have been sealed and put away for an indefinite period of time. The Gagauz Republic temporary committee has decided to convene a congress of Gagauz deputies at all levels at today's sitting and, in the opinion of the temporary committee and of Gagauzes, only a congress will be able to determine the republic's further destiny. But it will only be able to be held if all the police and voluntary formations withdraw.

MVD Troops Enter Gagauz Area

LD2810123590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1209 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Fedor Angeli reports]

[Text] Komrat, Moldova SSR (TASS)—Today USSR Interior Ministry troops were brought into areas densely populated by the Gagauz where, by decision of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet, a state of emergency has been declared. They are commanded by Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, commander of the USSR Interior Ministry troops.

Peaceful Solution Sought for Unrest

LD2810185290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1709 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondents Yuriy Pometov and Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev, 28 Oct (TASS)—Interethnic conflict in the republic has reached the point beyond which there will be bloodshed and innocent victims, said Konstantin Taushangi, chairman of the Komrat Rayon Executive Committee, in his appeal on national television to the peoples of Southern Moldova.

According to him, participants in the negotiations between the representatives of the provisional committee of the Gagauz Republic and the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet have come to this conclusion. The decision has been made to form a joint commission which will have the task of monitoring the volunteer formations from the Gagauz as well as the Moldova side, with a view to their subsequent withdrawal.

The Gagauz, Moldovans, Ukrainians, Bulgarians, Russians, and people of other nationalities who have lived in these parts as one family for centuries have never been enemies. I am deeply convinced that the problems which have accumulated during the 45 years of existence of the totalitarian system can be solved by mutual efforts and in a peaceful way because we have no other way, stressed Konstantin Taushangi.

Ion Khadyrke, deputy chairman of the Moldova Supreme Soviet and head of the delegation of the

Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet at the negotiations, has declared it necessary to use all resources for a peaceful solution of the problems that have arisen. He has also related the position which the Gagauz side has taken at the current negotiations. The Gagauz Republic's committee will suspend the elections to its Supreme Soviet for the time of the negotiations. It is being suggested that internal troops be introduced to the region and that the withdrawal of the volunteer detachments from the regions adjacent to the Gagauz Republic's border begin. Additionally, a demand to allow Stepan Topal, chairman of the provisional committee, to speak on national television is being proposed.

Area Not Under 'Economic Blockade'

PM2810180690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 90 First Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent A. Pasechnik: "Moldova: Tension Persists"]

[Text] Kishinev—For us, yesterday began with PRAVDA photographer M. Skurikhina being detained in the city's central square, as she was photographing the V.I. Lenin monument, by unidentified young people who described themselves as republic patriots. The help of militia workers was needed to free the nationally famous photographer and her equipment.

This incident—annoying but alas now typical of Kishinev—set the tone for what was to be a disastrous day. At any rate, on arriving in Chimishliya after lunch we felt immediately that, to put it mildly, we were not expected. This small rayon center in southern Moldova—the last on the highway before you come to the territories under a state of emergency—is now reminiscent of an upturned anthill. The small square in front of the raykom [rayon party committee] building is packed with buses, cars, trucks, and large groups of people. The building itself is under intensive guard by men in militia uniform with automatic weapons. People running, curt commands.... A kind of oppressive tension hanging in the air.

Neither the correspondents of central newspapers nor some of our foreign colleagues were being allowed into the building itself where, we were told, the state of emergency headquarters is located. Our requests to travel further, to the Gagauz Rayon centers and villages, were apparently perceived as downright indecent....

All the same, these requests eventually paid off. After a few hours walking up and down in front of the building, we were invited in. Here in a small room, a short improvised briefing was given by M. Druk, prime minister of the Moldova SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. He told journalists about the situation and the measures being adopted. Detachments of Moldavian volunteers from all over are converging here in Chimishliya. Their main task is to help the republic militia to seal off the state of emergency zone. Roads are closed and communications with Gagauz territories have been cut. True this does not mean economic blockade, we were assured by government members present at the meeting. Food products and other national economic freight are being delivered unhampered, and the day before yesterday they brought a woman in labor out of Komrat.... As M. Druk stated, the area is sealed off in order first, to avoid an open clash between population groups, and second, "not to allow into the zone the separatists from the Dnestr region who are persistently trying to make their way there." How many volunteers are here now, and will more arrive? There are more than 15,000 of them, N. Kirtoka, general director of a government department for military questions, replied. This number will apparently remain unchanged over the next few days.

Meanwhile the Gagauz leaders are persistently demanding the removal of these detachments from their territory in order to avert bloodshed. Although I must admit that this is not firsthand information: Let me remind you, we were not allowed beyond Chimishliya. And over there, on the other side of the confrontation, they also have detachments, they also have determination and intransigence. Incidentally, about intransigence: Has it declined during the bilateral discussions on the crisis situation which, we were told, are continuing more or less day and night? It was not until the evening that we were able literally to catch in passing one of the participants in these discussions: M. Plasichuk, deputy chairman of the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet. While noting the intractability of certain leaders of the Gagauz movement, he nonetheless stressed the increasing constructiveness of the bilateral dialogue. The most important thing is that agreement has been reached on the need to arrive at a kind of "zero option." At the moment this looks like a moratorium on the de facto elections in the areas with a high concentration of Gagauz inhabitants, on the one hand, and a moratorium on the Moldova SSR Supreme Soviet session's decision on rejecting the Gagauz request for autonomy, on the other. But the road to this option, M. Plasichuk said, does not promise to be easy.

Referendum 'Will Exacerbate' Problems

LD2910085790 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0729 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by Anatoliy Golya and Aleksandr Tanas, Moldova-Press- TASS correspondents]

[Text] Kishinev, 29 Oct (TASS)—Despite the decision of the session of the Keushenskiy rayon soviet of peoples' deputies to ban the village of Gysk, which is in its administrative and economic jurisdiction, from joining the town of Bendery, the village soviet today held a referendum. According to preliminary details, in the referendum the majority of rural inhabitants have voted to leave the jurisdiction of Keushenskiy rayon.

The holding of this action with the absence of a law on referenda in the Moldovan SSR will exacerbate the sociopolitical situation in the Dnestr area. It is considered that the transfer of the settlement to the jurisdiction of the town of Bendery, which has joined the Dnestr

Moldavian Socialist Republic, could complicate the peace dialogue in the south of Moldova. Despite the fact that the Moldovan legislature has declared the proclamation of the Dnestr Republic unlawful and contradictory to the USSR and Moldovan constitutions, the formation of a cabinet of ministers is continuing and preparation for elections to state bodies of authority, planned for 25 November, is going ahead.

Shatalin Attends Discussions

LD2910090790 Moscow TASS in English 0839 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by Moldova Press-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Golia and Aleksandr Tanas]

[Text] Cimislia October 29 TASS—The Provisional Committee of the Moldovan parliament is in session in Cimislia, southern Moldavia's district centre bordering on the Gagauz community territory, which was put under a state of emergency on October 26.

The committee session is being attended by Colonel General Shatalin, commander of the USSR Interior-Ministry troops.

Speakers at the session stated that tension in the region persists. Although there were no clashes between Moldavian and Gagauz volunteers, representatives of Gagauzes set up cordons and seek to prevent the militia from entering their region and enforcing state-of-emergency measures.

Meanwhile, Moldavian militia units as well as the USSR Interior Ministry regiment, which has been brought under the authority of Moldavian Interior Minister Ion Costas, are prepared to enter the state-of-emergency areas to carry out the instructions of the Moldavian parliament. The situation is monitored by Moldavian Prime Minister Mircea Druc and other members of his cabinet, who are currently here.

General Avdeyenko, representative of the USSR Ministry of the Interior, is holding talks with representatives of the provisional committee of the Gagauz republic in Komrat. He is seeking the withdrawal of Gagauz volunteers from the boundaries of the state-of- emergency zone.

If this condition is complied with, Moldavian volunteer detachments will be withdrawan from areas adjacent to the state-of- emergency zone.

Shatalin Denies Units in Komrat

LD2910151190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 29 Oct 90

[TASS report from Moldavia]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] According to the Moldovan radio, by midday the majority of the volunteers there had already gone back home. In reply to questions by a TASS correspondent, the commander of the USSR Interior Ministry troops has denied reports by some of the mass media that army subdivisions have been sent in to Komrat. I quote: There are no army units in Komrat, the general said. Serving there are Interior Ministry troops units to whom the Armed Froces have given some of their automatic weapons and armored equipment at the request of the republican government. All the Moldovan leaders and local mass media know this, Colonel General Shatalin added. No one has tried to make a secret of this.

Leaders Agree on Autonomy Moratoriums

LD2910115990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Text] According to Plasichuk, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Moldova SSR, the leaders of the Gagauz movement and representatives of the Moldova leadership have agreeed to declare a moratorium on elections in areas inhabited by the Gagauz people and a moratorium on the decision by the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet to reject the Gagauz people's request for autonomy.

'Improved' Situation Reported

LD2910131590 Moscow TASS in English 1305 GMT 29 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondents Yuriy Komisov and Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev October 29 TASS—The Presidium of the Moldavian parliament is now in session, discussing the situation in the republic's south and measures to normalise it.

The situation in southern Moldavia has improved slightly during the past 24 hours. Previously the situation was characterised as explosive.

By a decision of the Moldavian Government, a state of emergency is known to have been declared on Sunday afternoon in areas inhabited by Gagauz communities. Interior-Ministry units were sent to the area.

After that, the withdrawal of volunteer units began. The volunteer units were earlier sent to the boundaries of the areas by a decision of the republic's government.

According to national radio reports, by noon on Monday the bulk of volunteers had already returned home. Only special teams remained near the boundaries of the state-of-emergency areas to perform guarding functions and ensure the normal functioning of important state-run facilities.

Two Soviet Interior Ministry regiments, one from the Ukrainian town of Bolgrad and the other from the Moldavian capital of Kishinev, were sent to the Gagauz-inhabited territory.

The introduction of troops was directed by Colonel General Yuriy Shatalin, commander of Soviet Interior Ministry troops.

General Shatalin on Sunday met representatives of the Gagauz interim committee. The temporary billeting of the units and their tasks were discussed. The Gagauz side negatively reacted to Shatalin's statement that the units would be under the operational control of Moldavian Interior Minister Ion Costas.

Decrees Adopted on Dnestr Elections

LD2810215890 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1403 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] The government of the Moldovan SSR has issued Directive No. 271. It says that in connection with the scheduling of elections to the leading organs of the so-called "Dnestr Moldavian SSR" for 25 November, which aim to breach the sovereignty of Moldova and to split it, leaders of ministries and departments of the republican Academy of Sciences and higher educational establishments are, prior to 30 October this year, to present to the government of the Moldovan SSR a program of action for normalizing the situation on the territory of the Dnestr basin before the end of the year.

They should afford the natives of the Dnestr basin the opportunity to travel to these regions and to the localities on this territory, with the aim of carrying out explanatory work among the populations on the subject of the danger of separatist actions. They should be offered leave from their work duties for up to 12 working days, with full pay, and should make subsequent reports to the authorities.

In acordance with the Moldovan SSR Supreme Soviet's decision on 24 October 1990—"On the Work of the Government Administration of the Moldovan SSR in Connection With the State of Emergency Declared on the Territories of Certain Localities in the Southern Regions of the Republic"—and with the aim of ensuring the stable work of the national economy of the republic and the aim of assisting the provisional committee of the Supreme Soviet of the republic, the Moldovan government has adopted Decree No. 416 of 27 October 1990.

The document states that the heads of the ministries, departments, and executive committees have the duty to ensure the rythmic and uninterrupted work of the enterprises, offices, and organizations under their direction, and to resolutely curtail any actions leading to disorganization of the production and disruption of the economic ties which have formed among the regions of the republic and separate enterprises.

Special attention in the document is drawn to the normal functioning of the enterprises vitally important for the normal life of the republic such as energy, the food industry, transport, communications, and health. The most severe administrative measures should be used against those who boycott these directives or neglect their administrative duties, as well as for actions aimed at disruption of the work of the enterprises, offices, and organizations. At the most important establishments of the national economy, round-the-clock duty is being instituted.

Law enforcement organs and the executive committees of local soviets of peole's deputies have been obliged to apply resolute measures to ensure public order in all of the republic's population centers, involving volunteers in the Moldovan SSR for this purpose.

Normalization Directive Issued

LD2810171990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] The government of the Moldovan SSR has issued a directive designed to normalize the situation in the republic. It says that as a result of the scheduling of elections to the leading organs of the so-called Dnestr Moldavian SSR for 25 November, which aim to breach the sovereignty of Moldova and to split it, leaders of ministries and departments of the republican Academy of Sciences and higher educational establishments are, prior to 30 October this year, to present to the government of the Moldovan SSR a program of action for normalizing the situation in the Dnestr basin before the end of the year.

The document draws particular attention to the normal functioning of enterprises in vital services. Law enforcement organs and the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies have been obliged to apply resolute measures to ensure public order in all of the republic's population centers, involving volunteers for this purpose.

Bucharest Bessarabia Demonstration Reported

PM2610130190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Oct 90 Union Edition p 4

[Article by IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Volodin: "'Down With the Border!'"]

[Text] Bucharest—"Bessarabia is Romanian land!", "Moscow, do not forget, Bessarabia is not yours!", "Down with the border along the Prut!"—it was to slogans like these that a protest march was held in front of the USSR Embassy in Romania, organized at an appeal from Kishinev the Moldova [Moldavian] People's Front.

In an appeal to the Romanians of the whole world the Moldova People's Front leaders state: "A new partition of the land of our ancestors is now being prepared and the separatists are preparing 'elections' to impart legality to the unconstitutional act of the proclamation of the so-called Gagauz and Dnestr republics. Our descendants will not forgive us a new partition of our land...."

This bellicose demonstration, in which several thousand people took part, ended with the handing in to the Soviet

Embassy of a protest against "the Muscovite extremists' creation of two phantom states."

Ukraine Supreme Soviet Declares Law Supremacy

PM2610190890 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent Sergey Tsikora from Kiev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Amendments to the Ukrainian Constitution"]

[Text] The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet has adopted a number of amendments to the republic constitution which will substantially affect the status of its judicial system. They will also change the legal side of the Ukrainian SSR's [Soviet Socialist Republic] relationship with the center.

First, the republic can be congratulated on having its own general prosecutor. Until recently this post did not exist in the Ukraine. There was the modest position of Ukrainian SSR prosecutor who was appointed by the general prosecutor of the Soviet Union. Now the general prosecutor in the Ukraine will be appointed by the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet and will be accountable to it alone.

The second innovation concerns judges. The Supreme Soviet deemed it necessary to add a new point to Article 150 of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution. It goes like this: "For the period of the execution of their duties judges suspend membership of any political party or political movements." Thus, judges in the Ukraine are not only declared independent, they also become depoliticized. I was told at the republic Ministry of Justice that more than 2,000 judges will be forced to suspend their membership of the Communist Party for this reason. Members of the Ukrainian SSR Constitutional Court must also now meet similar requirements. Furthermore, for the period of their work on that elected body they have no right "to be people's deputies of the Ukrainian SSR."

The third key amendment radically changes the republic's relations with the center. The Supreme Soviet legislators decided by 325 votes to 28 to totally change Article 71 of the Ukrainian SSR Constitution. Until recently it declared: "USSR laws are binding on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR." The new version of this article states: "On the territory of the Ukrainian SSR the supremacy of the republic's laws is guaranteed."

The significance of this amendment can be judged from the fact that the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet promptly also submitted amendments to Article 29 of the republic's constitution, the "Union" article. The following provision was added to it: "The procedure for military service by citizens of the Ukrainian SSR is defined by Ukrainian SSR legislation."

Poland Clarifies Position on Ukraine Sovereignty

PM2610191290 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Oct 90 Union Edition p 6

[Letter from Jeremi Czulinski, press attache at the Polish Embassy in the USSR: "Poland and the Ukraine"]

[Text] On 16 October IZVESTIYA (No. 288) published a TASS account of a report by the British news agency REUTER:

"A Polish Foreign Ministry spokesman stated in Warsaw that Poland recognizes Ukrainian sovereignty and has established interstate relations with that republic. At the same time he pointed out that Poland does not recognize the Ukraine as an independent state and does not intend to establish diplomatic relations with it."

The editorial office has received the following letter from the Polish Embassy in the USSR clarifying the Polish Government's position on the TASS story:

"In connection with the item published in IZVESTIYA 16 October this year under the heading 'Poland Recognizes Ukrainian Sovereignty,' Polish Foreign Ministry press spokesman Wladyslaw Klaczynski has informed us that the IZVESTIYA item misrepresents his remarks, and at the same time Point 4 of the friendship declaration signed with the Ukraine. The press spokesman's communication, drawing on the aforementioned Point 4, states that it was decided to 'establish consular relations,' and also that 'in the near future the two sides will continue consultations on the question of establishing full diplomatic relations.'

"As you can see these differences are fundamental. The IZVESTIYA item misleads readers by claiming that Poland does not recognize the Ukraine as an independent state and does not intend to establish diplomatic relations with it.

"In connection with the above, the Polish Embassy asks your newspaper to publish the truth about the establishment of consular and diplomatic relations with the Ukraine."

Reportage on Rukh Movement Party Congress

Ivan Drach Interviewed

LD2510220890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Video report by correspondent V. Lyaskalo, including interview with Ivan Drach, chairman of the People's Movement of the Ukraine; at the opening session of the congress of the People's Movement of the Ukraine in Kiev on 25 October; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] The second all-Ukrainian gathering—the congress of Rukh, the People's Movement of the Ukraine—has opened in Kiev today. As reported,

taking part in it are over 2,000 delegates representing all the oblast organizations of this public movement in the Republic.

[Lyaskalo] The People's Movement of the Ukraine for Perestroyka—this was the full title of the Rukh a year ago, during its constituent congress. At present the main slogan of the Rukh is: From the movement of the Ukraine for perestroyka toward a movement for the independence of the Ukraine.

[Drach] It means that we have reached a point when we are trying to specify what perestroyka means for us, for the Ukraine. It means a movement for a free, independent, and sovereign Ukraine.

[Lyaskalov] How would you define the Rukh's place in the political life of the Ukraine today?

[Drach] I think that no political actions whatsoever are possible in the Ukraine without the Rukh. The Rukh has already become a distinct, serious political force. And the Rukh's opinion is something that is being heeded by everyone—both by its enemies and its friends.

[Lyaskalo] The congress opened with choral singing and a prayer. Then the delegates and guests were greeted and blessed by Patriarch Mstislav, the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. The current Rukh leaders took their seats in the Presidium. And then the work, which is scheduled to last four days, began.

[Announcer] A report on the political situation in the Ukraine and on the Rukh's tasks was delivered by Drach, its chairman and Ukrainian people's deputy. Those taking part in the congress proceedings are representatives of all Union republics and guests from 12 foreign countries.

Leaders Interviewed on Congress

AU2710173490 Paris AFP in English 1713 GMT 27 Oct 90

[Report by Pierre Glachant]

[Text] Kiev, Soviet Union, Oct 27 (AFP) — The Ukrainian nationalist movement Rukh opened its second congress here Saturday [27 October], announcing a drive to create a "democratic and independent" Ukraine four days after the communist prime minister resigned.

But despite Rukh's heady, year-long rise to popularity, leaders of the movement warned the struggle for democracy could be a long, hard battle.

"This second congress is that of a movement for an independent and democratic Ukraine, while the first (in September 1989) was... to support perestroika ", Rukh Chairman Ivan Drach told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Levko Lukianienko, a nationalist radical who escaped execution in 1961, told the congress "I'm happy to have lived to see a time when it is no longer necessary to prove that the Ukraine should be independent. The Communist Party has lost its authority, but the battle isn't over".

The meeting, attended by a mixture of young activists and veteran dissidents like Mr. Lukianienko, was to adopt a programme aimed at seeing the republic win independence "by parliamentary means and the setting up of a democratic society".

Rukh, one of the most recent to emerge of the Soviet Union's many nationalist movements, has scored success after success. Most recent of these was the local communist prime minister Vitaly Massol's resignation Tuesday in response to a two-week long student strike and demonstrations.

However many Rukh leaders warned against euphoria as Saturday's meeting got underway in the Ukrainian capital.

"Gaining independence will be easier than creating a democratic Ukraine", said Sergey Odarich, a member of the organization's secretariat. Strikes, demonstrations and campaigns of civil disobedience could win the republic independence within three or four months, he said. But Rukh would then face thorny problems.

These included "what kind of republic will it be, presidential or parliamentary" and "how, in practical terms, to go about ending state control of the economy", said the chairman Mr. Drach, who is also a poet. One thing "We don't want", he added, "is a totalitarian and fascist Ukraine".

Earlier, the local Communist Party newspaper reported "persecution of Communists" breaking out "in certain regions, particularly Lvov". The newspaper said party members were "being dismissed (from their jobs) under trumped-up pretexts and an atmosphere of intolerance" was being "created around them and members of their families".

Ioesef Zissels, co-chairman of the Rukh nationalists' council, said the future contained many unknown factors. Rukh could count on the backing of 10 per cent of the population, but the rest preferred to look on as observers. "We don't know which way they'll go in a time of crisis", he said.

It was for this reason, Mr. Zissels added, that "the majority of Jews in the republic, about a million at the moment, prefer to emigrate".

Another worry, heightened by the population's lack of political awareness, according to several senior Rukh officials, was the danger the movement could splinter into fringe groups as is happening elsewhere in the country.

New statutes for the movement, due to be discussed at the congress, propose that it invite sympathetic political parties to join, where only individuals could become members until now.

Plyushch Addresses Congress

LD2610233690 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondents Yuriy Zabolotniy and Yevgeniy Paiyskiy report]

[Text] Kiev, 26 Oct—Ivan Plyushch, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has called for the unity of all democratic forces. He spoke today at the second All-Ukrainian Congress of the People's Movement of the Ukraine (Rukh) which is taking place in Kiev. This public organization, which has about 5 million members, has become one of the major opposition forces in the republic.

Ivan Plyushch noted that there is a great deal of criticism at the congress aimed at Moscow and the Communists, but there are very few specific proposals, something that is essential today to attain the efficient sovereignty of the Ukraine which has been proclaimed by the republic's Supreme Soviet. A great many organizations and political trends have originated in Rukh lately and a center is now essential which would coordinate all democratic forces to bring about the main aim of the movement: the construction of a law-based, independent, and sovereign Ukrainian state.

A proposal supported by many delegates was made at the congress to create a "Democratic Ukraine" [Demokraticheskaya Ukraina] political block.

The Rukh congress continues until 28 October.

Drach Reelected Chairman

LD2910133290 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] The second all-Ukrainian assembly of Rukh ended in Kiev today. This organization aims to reestablish Ukrainian independence and to create a democratic republic by nonviolent means.

Speaking to the delegates, Dmytro Pavlychko, a Rukh leader, stressed that the Republic's Russian population of 10 million is regarded by ukrainians as an organic part of the people of the Ukrainian state.

The assembly has introduced changes into the Rukh program and rules and elected is governing bodies.

Ivan Drach, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic people's deputy, has once again been elected Rukh chairman.

Congress Ends

LD2810134590 Moscow TASS in English 1329 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Report by UKINFORM-TASS correspondents Yuriy Zabolotny and Yevgeni Paritskiy]

[Text] Kiev 28 October TASS—The aims put forth by the Ukrainian People's Movement (Rukh), the second congress of which ended in Kiev today, are the restoration of the Ukraine's state independence and the creation of a democratic republic through non-violent methods.

Congress delegates focused on ethnic relations, along with political and economic issues. Chairman of the movement's nationalities council Dmytro Pavlychko noted that many Russians living in the republic support "the struggle of the Ukrainian people for their statehood."

The ten-million Russian population in the Ukraine are not new settlers, invaders or aliens to the Ukrainian people, he continued. They are an organic part of the people of the multinational Ukrainian state, he stressed.

"We declare that a conscious Ukrainian, especially a member of the movement, will never support the national socialist slogan "Ukraine is for Ukrainians."

Numerous proposals were made to set up a committee on national minorities at the Ukrainian parliement, which should be headed by their representatives.

Delegates warmly applauded to greetings of representatives from democratic movements of Russia, Belorussia, Armenia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaijan, speeches by guests from the United States, Argentina, Germany, Australia, Romania, France, Britain and other countries.

Canadians support the Ukraine's national revival, Patrick Boyer, parliamentary secretary of the Canadian Foreign Ministry said. Canada will open its consulate in Kiev.

Businessmen come to work together with Ukrainian counterparts. Canadian doctors will also cooperate to raise the level of medical aid to the Ukrainian people, he noted.

The congress approved the supplemented and amended programme and rules of the Ukrainian People's Movement and elected its governing bodies. Member of the Ukrainian Parliament Ivan Drach was re-elected the movement's chairman.

Ukraine Introduces Coupon Trading From 1 Nov

PM2810203090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Oct 90 Second Edition p 2

[Report by correspondent M. Odinets: "Ukraine Goes Over to Coupons"]

[Text] Kiev, 28 Oct—The republic government has adopted a Resolution "On Protecting the Consumer Market in the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]." Under its terms, we were told at the Ukrainian SSR Council of Ministers, the sale of food and nonfood goods

and manufacturing and technical output by means of a consumer card with coupons is introduced from 1 November this year.

These cards will be issued to all working citizens, pensioners, invalids, students, and pupils at technical schools and vocational and technical establishments once a month when their monetary income is paid out for the amount of 70 percent of the sum remaining after tax and other compulsory payments.

On the government's instructions, a group of leaders and specialists has been set up which will analyze the course of introduction of the new trading system.

'Negative Trends' Highlight Ukrainian Development

LD2710232390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1409 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by UKRINFORM-TASS correspondent Stanislav Volniyanskiy]

[Text] Kiev, 26 Oct (TASS)—A report by the Ukrainian State Commission for Statistics on the results of the republic's socioeconomic development during the first nine months of this year was published today.

The report shows that negative trends caused by the disruption of economic ties continued to increase in the Ukrainian economy.

The fall in industrial production continued, as did the volume of construction and the amount of goods carried in the transportation system. The state of labor and contractual discipline worsened. Targets for the sale of grain are not being met. Less fodder has been procured for public sector animal husbandry. Output and procurement of meat and eggs declined. The crisis in the consumer market is getting worse. The list of goods that are becoming scarce is getting longer. Profiteering is on the rise.

The report does note that a number of production indices are recording an increase, but the rate of increase is less than that planned for this year. The average monthly pay of workers in the towns and in the countryside increased. Compared with the corresponding period last year, their monetary income increased by 15.8 percent. But people have also been forced to spend more because of the increase in prices.

Supplies of consumer goods to the population have not improved. Output of such goods during the first nine months of the year was 5.5 percent up on the corresponding period last year. But this increase is only half as much as was planned.

The deterioration in the republic's economic situation and the escalation of social tension are in large measure to blame for the increase in crime, the report says.

Ukrainian Presidium Meets Archbishop Mstislav

LD2510190890 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Report by correspondent Volodymyr Slipko, including interviews with Archbishop Mstislav, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet; in Kiev on 23 October—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting of the members of the Presidium of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet with Archbishop Mstislav, the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, took place in Kiev today. Here is an on-the-spot report recorded by our correspondent Volodymyr Slipko.

[Slipko] Archbishop Mstislav was given a warm welcome in the headquarters of the Republic's highest legislative body by Leonid Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet; and the leaders of the parliamentary commissions for foreign affairs, culture, and spiritual revival, Dmitro Pavlychko and Oles Tanyuk. His Holiness gave them his blessing and his best wishes in building a sovereign Ukraine. The head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church greeted the resolute steps made by our national parliament in reforming the economy and social sphere and in orienting itself toward broad international cooperation.

I will say it precisely that His Holiness Mstislav has arrived in the Ukraine on a peacemaking visit after many years of separation from it; in his time he was in fact exiled outside its borders by Soviet authorities who did not like his noncompliance in asserting the necessity of the revival and free functioning in the Ukraine of the national Orthodox Church—which was done away with in the period of Stalin's lawless actions.

The participants in today's meeting agreed that there are no obstacles at present for the revival of this church—which has already been settled by its constituent congress, and through the actual fact of His Holiness Mstislav being chosen to be the head of it. He personally thinks that given time all the obstacles will disappear and Kiev, the father of the cities of Rus from which the Orthodoxy spread among the Slavs, will be able to become the center of this church.

Archbishop Mstislav said that he wanted to stay longer in the Ukraine so as to be able to understand the present religious situation. In this connection His Holiness expressed his deep concern about the conflicts between the Greek-Catholics and the Orthodoxy believers that took place in some places in western Ukraine. According to him, this undermines the spiritual unity of the Ukrainians—but he also cautioned local authorities against giving in to any of the confessions under any circumstances, or intruding with administrative pressure to settle the religious controversy.

His Holiness met with understanding a personal request from Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian

Supreme Soviet, to foster the settlement of the acute interconfessional problems in the west of the Ukraine. With that aim, Archbishop Mstislav will visit Lvov and meet the Greek-Catholic and Orthodox communities' leaders. He stressed that these discords are not for the benefit of the sovereignty of the Ukraine, all of whose citizens should be the true defenders of its interests.

The head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church informed the participants in the meeting that a large batch of medicines for the suffering population of Chernobyl, supplied on the money of representatives of the Ukrainian Diaspora, arrived with him in Kiev. Many of our countrymen believers abroad expressed the desire that a religious medical center be opened in the capital of Ukraine with their support, whose activity would also cover the Chernobyl population. His Holiness Mstislav expressed his gratitude to the Kiev authorities for meeting the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church's needs and for their decision to give it a St. Andrew's Church and a number of metropolitian chambers in St. Sophia's Cathedral.

I approached His Eminence Mstislav after the meeting and asked what he thought about the today's talk with Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian parliament.

[Mstislav] My meeting today with Leonid Makarovich was to God's content, and pleasant to the people.

[Slipko] What are your wishes for the Ukraine?

[Mstislav] You know, I wish that our political forces pulled in one direction.

[Slipko] Here is an interview with Leonid Kravchuk, the chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet.

[Kravchuk] It seems to me that in the main we had nothing but mutual understanding, as they say, with his Holiness on many questions. I think that such a meeting was necessary. It is necessary for it enabled us to state our position once again. Our position is that if we follow the path of sovereignty, if we follow the path of building our life on the basis of humanism and good, we do not want to ruin anything we have but enrich [words indistinct] and religion should help us in this matter. The meetings are necessary, though I understand that different assessments of them will be given: some will give their support, others will not, but we should go through this so that people see that whether it is the chairman of the Supreme Soviet or anybody else, their attitude to all religions is the same. All religions are equal as well as all believers: they have equal rights and opportunities should be equal. Then everybody will understand that it is sensible [word indistinct] toward every human being, respect for a human being as for an individual, for a personality and for its highest right—and even more so, the right for spirituality [as heard].

[Slipko] This is some sort of consolidation, just for independence of our state?

[Kravchuk] We have certainly stated that the church should help us now to maintain peace and quiet on Ukrainian land, and for this purpose we will help religion. We will not follow the path of interdiction, as it used to be earlier. We made a big mistake doing so. We want religion to be a bearer of culture, spirituality, civilized attitudes, quiet, and peace. The main thing is that we have accord.

Autocephalic, Orthodox Believers Clash in Kiev

LD2910115390 Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] Solemn divine service was conducted today in St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kiev. It was devoted to the announcement of self-rule and independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. On this occasion Aleksiy II, patriarch of Moscow and of all Russia, presented the blessed diploma to Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and of all Ukraine.

Let us remind you that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and Rukh [Ukrainian People's Movement for Perestroyka] resolutely protested this action, seeing in it an encroachment on the national sovereignty of Ukraine. On its way to the cathedral, the patriarch's limousine was stopped by a group of believers of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. To demonstrate their protest, Ukrainian people's deputies Mykhaylo Horyn and Oles Shevchenko prostrated themselves on the asphalt in front of the calvacade. However, personnel of the law and order agencies picked them up and pushed them into the crowd.

Clashes occurred in the square between participants in the demonstration and militiamen. The confrontation between believers of these two churches outside St. Sophia's Cathedral lasted throughout the day. A group of Ukrainian people's deputies and delegates of the all-Ukrainian Assembly of Rukh appeared live on Ukrainian television with their evaluations of events outside the Cathedral.

Kiev Youth Protests, Religious Events Cited

PM2910125790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by F. Siziy: "Kiev in October"]

[Text] Kiev will long reverberate with the echoes of the thousands-strong student and school demonstrations held outside the residence of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet. "Kravchuk, we have come!" was the grand finale of the procession of victors.

The republic legislature has accepted the demand of the hunger strikers. The students have rolled up their tents, but October Revolution Square continues to live to the same restless rhythm.

Kiev has perhaps never seen so many people begging for alms. They are everywhere: In underpasses, near the subway, on the main street, Kreshchatik.

Eggs have disappeared from the shelves in stores—the picture is similar throughout the republic, as if the hens had formed a pact and declared a strike. Cigarettes can be bought without trouble—from speculators, it is true, who do not even hide from the militia.

Kiev devoted Saturday and Sunday to God. The Aeroflot plane delivering a Ukrainian American, His Holiness the Patriarch of Kiev and All Ukraine Mstislav, arrived 90 minutes late from Moscow. At St. Sofia's Cathedral a crowd of many thousands welcomed the 92-year-old head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church who has been away from the motherland for almost 47 years. Banners which greeted the guest read: "From Independent Church to Independent State." Patriarch Mstilslav called the people to love and unity.

An event held at the Ukrainian Lenin Komsomol [Communist Youth League] Central Committee seemed like something out of the Ukrainian capital's religion-saturated Sundays. A plenum of the Pioneers' Organization Council was in session. The agenda: to hold a rally of Ukrainian pioneers. It was decided to submit to the "young guard" questions of the depoliticization of the school system. All the signs suggest that in the very near future the pioneers will quit the school buildings and migrate from one Young Leninist's place of residence to another. Even today pioneers in some Western oblasts of the republic are forced to go underground, wear their ties in secret, and assemble in apartments to discuss their unenviable position.

CPSU member Yuriy Dubovoy took his place among the hunger-striking students. His protest is directed against recent hunger strikes by young people. A protest against protests. Vasiliy Belyy, a Communist, came along and before the eyes of the honest people, tore up his party comrade's party card.. The people were indignant. V. Belyy, a worker at the "Khimvoloko" Production Association and people's deputy of the capital's Vatutinskiy Rayon Soviet, believes that Dubovoy's actions shame the honor of the CPSU.

The Supreme Soviet session is continuing its tense battle in search of the truth.

Belorussia Adopts Consumer Protection Law

LD2510192190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1630 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] A law on temporary measures to protect the consumer market comes into effect on the territory of Belorussia 1 November.

It was adopted at the session of the Supreme Soviet of the republic today.

The document provides for banning the independent export by enterprises outside the territory of Belorussia of consumer goods, documentation on discoveries and inventions, foreign currency, and progressive technology.

As for private individuals, the export of some kinds of foods and industrial goods is restricted. The Council of Ministers of the republic has been granted the right to declare a state monopoly on the sale of some of these at stable retail prices.

Much stricter measures to punish speculation and violations on trade are introduced. The creation of checkpoints on the frontiers of the republic is envisaged.

Mogilev Oblast Elects New Party Chief

LD2810131890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Oct 90

[Text] An oblast report-back and election party conference in Mogilev has continued for two days. A sharp and frank conversation took place on the status and role of Communists in the primary organizations and committees, on the solution of practical matters of perestroyka, on the democratization of internal party life, and promoting the activities of the primary organizations. There was a long discussion on the first secretary candidature. Leonov, who previously held this post, was given an ultimatum by deputies of the oblast soviet on the impossibility of combining two posts: chairman of the soviet and first secretary of the party oblast committee. In order to keep their leader within the party organization and the soviet, many delegates proposed that the post of chairman of the oblast party organization be established by a decision of the conference. But this did not gain full support.

Popov was elected first secretary of the Mogilev Oblast Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party; he previously worked as second secretary of the oblast committee. Sokolov, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Central Committee of the Belorussian Communist Party, and Falin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the conference.

Belorussia Worst Affected by Chernobyl Disaster

LD2510142690 Moscow TASS in English 1318 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] United Nations October 25 TASS—Four and a half years after the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident the world still does now know the whole truth about the disaster, Belorussian Foreign Minister Pavel Kravchenko told a press conference at U.N. Headquarters on Wednesday.

The Belorussian parliament in February appealed to peoples of the world for help. Later, the Ukraine and the Soviet Union issued similar calls.

"The modest Belorussian people have never claimed they are exceptional. However, today we say we are tragically exceptional," Kravchenko said.

"We state that we have suffered from the Chernobyl catastrophe much more than the other Soviet regions. Belorussia accounts for 70 per cent of the radioisotopes from the Chernobyl reactor that landed on the Soviet Union.

"Twenty per cent of the republic's population, 2,200,000 people, are in the contaminated zone.

"The total direct and indirect losses have reached an astronomical figure of 100 billion roubles, which is eight times the national income of Belorussia.

"According to economists' estimates, the republic's development will remain frozen for three to five years. But we are concerned most of all about the future of the nation, its children and the state of the genetic fund of the Belorussian people.

"It is clear now that we cannot cope with our problems all by ourselves. We have to move people to other areas, build housing in ecologically pure zones and establish control over the radiation situation and the pureness of foodstuffs.

"Our immediate tasks, which we should accomplish within the next few months, include the construction of several hospitals for children and a large house-building plant and the provision of the population with individual disometers."

Answering reports' questions, Kravchenko said there are "quite a few organisations and individuals in the United States ready to aid Chernobyl victims".

"The well-wishing attitude, sympathy and kindness of Americans were a pleasant surprise for many of my compatriots," he said.

Kravchenko expressed gratitude to foreign public, religious and other non-government organisations that responded to Belorussia's call for help.

'Anticommunist' Newspaper Appears in Belorussia

LD2510173990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1230 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] Minsk. The October issue of SVABODA [Freedom], the first Belorussian newspaper of an anti-communist orientation, has been brought out. This issue carries an appeal of the Belorussian People's Front to Minsk residents, calling on them to boycott the November festive procession, and to hold their own rally to mark the end of communism, the newspaper writes.

Caucasus

'Hostages' Released in Nagorno-Karabakh

LD2610201390 Moscow TASS in English 1950 GMT 26 Oct 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vadim Byrkin]

[Text] Stepanakert October 26 TASS—Hostage taking craze that peaked in Nagorno-Karabakh this past week seems to be subsiding already. On Wednesday, Interior Ministry troops liberated four Azeris taken hostage by Armenians in the village of Kadzhavan of the Mardakert district after four Armenians have been captured near the Azeri village of Srkhavend on October 20. Weapons were seized and more than 20 people were arrested. One man was mortally wounded and two others sustained grave injuries during the operation.

Earlier reports said that four Interior Ministry officials had been taken hostage in the Mardakert district. Negotiations held by the interested sides for the past three days on the release of all hostages. [sentence as received]

As a result, four Armenians seized by Azeris in Srkhavend have been set free. The four officials have also been released. None of them was hurt or otherwise physically affected.

The situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, although somewhat stabilized, continues to remain tense.

Shots Fired at Georgian Politician's Apartment

PM2610204490 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Oct 90 p 1

[Report by correspondent N. Mikeladze: "Shots...."]

[Text] On the night of 25 October, unidentified persons fired shots at the apartment of Valerian Advadze, leader of one of the blocs preparing for the elections to a multiparty parliament in Georgia. This Georgian economist is familiar to our readers from his speeches at the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. The motives behind the nighttime attack can as yet only be guessed at.

Fortunately no member of V. Advadze's family was hurt. The deputy himself was out of town at the time.

Abkhaziya Refuses to Join in Georgian Elections

LD2610054390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2010 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Video report by correspondent Otar Lakrba in Sukhumi; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Lakrba] On 28 October elections to the Georgian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] are to be held in the Georgian SSR. Numerous Georgian political parties have launched a pre-election campaign in Abkhaz towns. However the general public in Abkhaziya has decided not to take part in the elections. Why?

[Unidentified man] The Georgian Supreme Soviet Presidium has tried to ignore the wishes expressed by the Abkhaz people. In addition, the actual new law on elections recently adopted in Georgia is in our view of a discriminative nature because it does not allow the People's Forum of Abakhazia—which directly represents the will of the Abakhz people—to take part in the elections.

Georgian Army Support Body Has Equipment 'Seized'

PM2610120590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Oct 90 First Edition p 1

[Report by TASS correspondent A. Kochetkov under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Republic's DOSAAF Left Without Equipment"]

[Text] Rustavi—Georgia's DOSAAF [Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy] technical schools have been left without army vehicles intended for draftees' training. The vehicles have been seized by the paramilitary formations of various parties and sociopolitical movements.

The widescale action did not meet with an appropriate reaction from the local law enforcement agencies. Their workers preferred to "turn a blind eye" even to the attempted seizure of armored vehicles. One such attempt occurred on the grounds of the Rustavi DOSAAF technical school, where light armored personnel carriers are kept.

How did events develop? The USSR Defense Ministry issued a directive that combat hardware be removed from Georgia's DOSAAF schools and transferred to troop units. The reason for this decision was the mass refusal of Georgian draftees to serve in the Army and the republic defense society's nonfulfillment of the plan for training specialists for the USSR Armed Forces.

In response to the directive, a Georgian DOSAAF Central Committee plenum adopted a decision: The equipment belongs to the people and we will not give it back to anyone. A statement to that effect was made in the local mass media. It was taken as a signal to seize the equipment.

Extensive Foreign Investment in Azerbaijan Noted

LD2510110190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0900 GMT 25 Oct 90

[Text] The first international business congress has concluded in Baku. Foreign participants interested in direct economic ties with the republic have invested $450 million in the development of the leading branches of the Azerbaijan economy. The results of the forum have exceeded all expectations. The volume of the republic's export-import operations for 1990 has for the first time been estimated at 500 million rubles. Such a foreign economic turnover has never before been reached, even in a five-year period. As was noted during the summing up of the results of the congress, progress toward an independent foreign economic policy will not affect the already existing inter-republican ties. The republic will ensure the fulfillment of its intra-union agreements.

Azerbaijani-Turkish Telephone Venture Formed

LD2310173790 Moscow TASS in English 1708 GMT 23 Oct 90

[Text] Baku October 23 TASS—A Soviet-Turkish venture being set up in Baku, the Azerbaijani capital, will annually produce 100,000 telephones and automatic exchanges. A relevant contract was signed between the Azerbaijani Communications Ministry and the Turkish Netas firm.

The Turkish side will do design work and supply equipment to the future factory. Soviet specialists will train personnel and supply raw materials to the factory.

Azerbaijani Communications Minister Shalil Musayev said that the production of telephones would begin next year, and the first batch of automatic exchanges would be manufactured in 1992.

The minister also described a second joint venture being established in Baku with the Turkish Teletas firm. It will manufacture telephone equipment for the countryside.